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**FRANCISCAN LEGENDS IN ITALIAN
ART. BY EMMA GURNEY SALTER**



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*A. Francis.
from the Madonna di Foligno of Raphael. Pinacoteca Italiana. Rome.*

FRANCISCAN LEGENDS IN ITALIAN ART

PICTURES IN ITALIAN CHURCHES
AND GALLERIES

BY
EMMA GURNEY SALTER



WITH 20 ILLUSTRATIONS

1905

LONDON

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PREFACE

THE Franciscan Saints and Legends in Italian art form not the least attractive part of books dealing with saintly and monastic legends in general, such as those of Mrs. Jameson and Mrs. Bell. They have been exhaustively treated in Herr Thode's great work—*Franz von Assisi und die Anfänge der Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*—of which a welcome new edition, revised and enlarged, appeared towards the end of last year.

But, so far as I know, this is the first attempt to bring them together in small compass and in English. Except for an occasional reference, I have confined myself to Italian pictures in Italy, more especially in Central Italy, the home of the Franciscan movement. Many of these pictures that may perhaps not be great works of art are yet very interesting from the point of view of the Franciscan student; while in some—in those by Giotto, for example—we most fortunately find both artistic and Franciscan interest combined.

Although this little book is not primarily intended as a guide book, certain chapters have unavoidably somewhat of that character, and directions as to the exact position of pictures in churches, etc., are given, in the hope that they may be found useful to travellers. The gallery numbers quoted are mostly quite recent, but owing to the tiresome habit of perpetually renumbering their pictures that prevails in Italian galleries, some may be found to need correction. In the case of the few pictures that I have not myself seen, the fact is usually indicated.

A list of books that I have used will be found in the Bibliography; for modern attributions of pictures I have been guided mainly by the revised edition of Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and by such critics as Mr. Fry and Mr. Berenson. On disputed points, such as the attribution of the Upper Church "Crucifixion" to Cimabue, and the date of the Giotto "Allegories" in the Lower Church, I have followed Mr. Fry. My special indebtedness to Herr Thode will be sufficiently obvious, but must none the less be gratefully expressed here. My references are all to his edition of 1904.

I shall be much obliged for any suggestions or corrections that may make this little book more complete or accurate. I hope that to some readers it may recall, however faintly, enchanted days spent in Umbria and Tuscany.

E. G. S.

LONDON, *September, 1905*

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* From photographs by Alinari, Florence.

† From photographs by Anderson, Rome.

‡ From a photograph by P. Lunghi, Assisi.

§ From a photograph by Naya, Venice.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A.SS. *Acta Sanctorum.*
Bon. Bonaventura's *Life of St. Francis.*
Cel. Thomas of Celano.
C. and C. Crowe and Cavalcaselle. (New edition.)
Acad. Accademia delle belle Arti.
Pin. Pinacoteca.
3 Soc. "Legend of the Three Companions."
Ist. di B.A. Istituto di Belle Arti (at Siena).
Sta. Croce always means the Church of that name at Florence.

FRANCISCAN LEGENDS IN ITALIAN ART

CHAPTER I

Italian painting in the thirteenth century—Influence of the Franciscan movement—Brief outline of the story of St. Francis

THE condition of Italian painting in the early years of the thirteenth century furnishes a striking example of the proverbial darkness before dawn. Centuries of steady retrogression, of increasingly unintelligent copying of the antique by Byzantine miniaturists and mosaicists, and then of these same Byzantines by Italian painters, had produced a melancholy state of things. The choice of subjects was strictly limited to the scenes of Old and New Testament history, figures of Christ on the Cross, of the Madonna, and Saints. Certain conventions had been laid down by the Church—each scene was to be depicted exactly in such and such a manner, and any deviation therefrom would be a heresy, and would forfeit the favour of the artist's patrons.

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It would probably have been considered a sacrilege to make the Madonna and Child look human, even if these Italo-Byzantine painters had had sufficient knowledge of the human body, and power of rendering facial expression to do so, which they emphatically had not. The very lines of their draperies are arbitrary and meaningless, the faces are wooden and staring-eyed. Most Italian galleries have a room devoted to the *Primitivi*, in which works of this class make a painful exhibition.

But towards the middle of the thirteenth century things began to look brighter ; the dawn appeared on the horizon, its day-star was Francis of Assisi. All Italy was ringing with the fame of the *mirabil vita del poverel di Dio*,¹ and to the painters it came as a new inspiration, full of dramatic possibilities, and offering an entirely new field for original and imaginative treatment. His story became, as Ruskin says, "a passionate tradition, told and painted everywhere with delight."² It was Francis who brought the Saviour and His Mother home to the hearts of the people, so that they could no longer be content with abstract, inhuman types ; Francis, whose graphic and moving discourses on the Gospels led to their equally graphic and moving illustration in the art of Giotto and others ; Francis, that captained

¹ Dante, *Par.*, xiii. 32, 33.

² *Mornings in Florence*, part i.

the new chivalry of the Table Round, whose deeds the painters felt impelled to portray.¹ It was Francis who gave new ideals of purity and gentleness, and who taught love for all created things ; hence we see landscapes, flowers, and animals beginning to appear in the pictures of the time.

“The birth of Italian painting,” says Symonds,² “is closely connected with the religious life of the Italians. The building of the Church of St. Francis at Assisi gave it the first great impulse, and to the piety aroused by St. Francis throughout Italy, but mostly in the valleys of the Apennines, it owed its animating spirit in the fourteenth century.” The influence of the Umbrian Saint is, of course, particularly marked on the mystical Umbrian school of painting.

It is, indeed, impossible to over-estimate the stimulus given to Italian art by the building of the great double Basilica at Assisi, which was begun immediately after the death of St. Francis in 1226, and carried on with the utmost rapidity, the foremost painters of the time having a share in its decoration. The stimulus was maintained by the building of churches in other cities, all affording

¹ Cf. H. J. Schmitz, “Der Bettler von Assisi und das Rittertum, die Poesie, und Kunst seiner Zeit.” (*Frankfurter Zeitgemäße Broschüren*, vol. v., pp. 56–9.)

² *Renaissance in Italy: The Fine Arts*, p. 142.

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scope for fresco-decoration for both the new Orders, Franciscans and Dominicans. Thus it is scarcely an exaggeration to say, as Dr. Heinrich¹ does, "No princely Mæcenas ever advanced knowledge and art so powerfully as Francis and Dominic and their Orders." It is superfluous to remark that all this happened incidentally. Neither Francis nor Dominic set it before them as an aim to revive art. They sought first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things were added unto them. M. Renan,² indeed, has pointed out the *prima facie* improbability that the life and teaching of Francis would have had this effect, while emphasizing the fact that it undeniably had. "Il semble," he says, "au premier coup d'œil, que le rêve de François d'Assise aurait dû amener la fin de tout art et de toute noble vie. Chose étrange ! ce sordide mendiant (*sic*) fut le père de l'art italien."

It was a most fortunate occurrence that this new inspiration, this immense stimulus from without, coincided with the first beginnings of a movement towards the light from within Italian art—a movement in which sculpture had led the way. Until

¹ "Franz von Assisi und seine culturhistorische Bedeutung." (*Frankfurter Zeitgemäße Broschüren*, vol. iv. p. 111.)

² "François d'Assise": *Nouvelles Etudes d'histoire religieuse*, pp. 325 sqq.

recently, it has been the custom to look on Cimabue as a sort of Melchisedek with no artistic parentage, and to marvel how the barren wilderness of Italian painting could all of a sudden have produced such a blossom. Vasari is, of course, responsible for this belief, with his description¹ of how "in the year 1240, by the will of God, Giovanni Cimabue . . . was born in the city of Florence to give the first light to the art of painting." And Dante's famous allusion has kept it alive. That Cimabue had a high place in the estimation of his contemporaries it would be absurd, in the face of this allusion, to deny, but that he was an impromptu and abnormal development of the period can be and is denied. We recognize now that the early schools of painting at Rome, Siena, and Pisa were in advance of that of Florence, and that at the beginning she followed rather than led. Mr. Langton Douglas has pointed out how Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle's judgments were tinged with Vasari's "Florentinism."² At the same time, when this critic ruthlessly assures us that "it cannot be proved that a single picture attributed to Cimabue was painted by him,"³ we are tempted, with

¹ *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, etc.*, p. 126, part 1. (Florentine edition of 1550.)

² C. and C., vol i. pp. 81-3 (*note*).

³ *Ib.*, p. 181 (*note*).

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Mr. Fry, to envy the mid-Victorians, the generation of Ruskin and Browning, their pathetic belief in that *magni nominis umbra*. Even the glory of having moulded Giotto is now largely taken from Cimabue, both the above critics pointing out Giotto's indebtedness to the Roman school and to the sculptors.

Giunta Pisano, Cimabue, and Duccio used to be considered three of the heralds of the new epoch, but now we are taught to see in them the last masters of the old.¹ I cannot help thinking, however, that the two last—if we may accept the traditional attribution of the “Madonna” in the Lower Church (cf. p. 144) to Cimabue—do suggest a departure from, and an advance on, Byzantine traditions. No such question arises in the case of Margaritone d’Arezzo, who exhibits those traditions in their most degraded and outworn stage. His industry was enormous—he made “pitture infinite,” says Vasari. Those who are not acquainted with his works must be prepared for their quite phenomenal repulsiveness. It is, indeed, rather a shock for any Franciscan enthusiast to be brought face to face for the first time with any of the gaunt, unpleasing representations of St. Francis, executed in

¹ Cf. (a) Sir Martin Conway, *Early Tuscan Art*, p. 45. (b) C. and C., vol. i. p. 146. (c) Mr. R. Fry, *Art before Giotto*, p. 150. (d) Berenson, *Central Italian Painters*, p. 41 (note).

the Byzantine manner, whether by Margaritone d'Arezzo, Berlinghieri of Lucca, or their unknown followers. They show the waste sands on which the ebb-tide of a decaying art had left stranded provincial towns like Arezzo and Lucca, while the flood-tide of the new was sweeping over great centres like Siena and Florence.

We have spoken of the story of St. Francis as furnishing a novel and dramatic theme for the painters. It is true that, as Mr. Berenson¹ has pointed out, the Franciscan movement had had time to find expression in exquisite poetry and prose "before the legend of its adorable founder received, at Giotto's hands, something like adequate pictorial expression." But pictorial expression, albeit of a pathetically inadequate kind, it had found long before Giotto—as witness the dim frescoes of the nave in the Lower Church (cf. p. 143) and the small series of legend scenes painted round some of the early figures of St. Francis. These pictures were demanded by the popular enthusiasm for the Saint—an enthusiasm natural in his fellow-countrymen for one who has been well called *Il più Italiano fra i Santi ed il più santo fra gli Italiani*. How ardently he was beloved in his own native town may be learnt from a casual allusion in a

¹ "A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend," p. 3, *Burlington Magazine*, September–October, 1903.

sonnet by a contemporary of Dante's, Folgore da San Gimignano,¹ who, speaking of his friend, would be

“fitted in his love more steadily
Than is St. Francis at Assisi.” . . .

We shall see (cf. p. 27) how pictures of St. Francis were to be found in private houses as early as the middle of the thirteenth century.

But it was not only the life of St. Francis, or of any other popular Saint of the Order, like St. Antony of Padua, that artists were commissioned to paint for the churches of the Brothers Minor. Allegories and illustrations of the Gospel scenes were in demand, and thus arose what Sir Martin Conway has called the “anecdotal fresco” of Giotto and his school. Giotto’s followers, as the same writer has pointed out, became later on, under their Franciscan employers, mere illustrators of sermons, their aim being edifying rather than purely artistic. Moreover, as Leonardo da Vinci² subsequently demonstrated, “art retrograded under Giotto’s disciples because of their unceasing imitation of Giotto.” But this deterioration must not make

¹ Translated by D. G. Rossetti, *Early Italian Poets*, p. 84. (Temple Classics, 1904.)

² Quoted in C. and C., vol. ii. p. 125. Cf. Mr. Fry, *Florentine Painting of the Fourteenth Century*.

us unmindful of the debt owing to the Franciscans for first encouraging the painting of narratives with a human interest.

Although the Franciscans cannot number among them such artists as the Dominicans Fra Angelico and Fra Bartolommeo, yet from the first we find them, not only employing, but actively engaging in the fine arts. For example, a young Brother of the Order, Fra Filippo da Campello, assisted the unknown architect of San Francesco at Assisi, and later on designed Sta. Chiara. As early as 1225, we find a Franciscan doing mosaics in the Tribune of the Florence Baptistery. A verse inscription gives the date, and ends as follows¹ :—

SANCTI FRANCISCI FRATER FUIT HOC OPERATUS
JACOBUS IN TALI PRE CUNCTIS ARTE PROBATUS.

AS the life-story of St. Francis is, naturally, the central theme of Franciscan art, a brief outline of it is given here, introducing some of its chief events. It does not pretend to be more than the barest sketch, and as nearly all the charm and poetry of the life must perforce escape in such an attempt, readers are urgently referred to the early Legends ; to M. Sabatier's *Vie de St. François*, and

¹ C. and C., vol. i. p. 77, note 1. The lines are interesting as showing that Francis was popularly called Saint before his death.

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to chapter ii., "The Umbrian Prophet," in *The Story of Assisi*, etc. I give references to chapter v. of this book for the scenes described by Bonaventura, and illustrated by Giotto.

Francis was born at Assisi in 1181, or possibly 1182. His father, Peter Bernardone, was a well-to-do cloth merchant ; his mother's name was Pica, and she is said to have been a Provençal. For love of her, or of France, the baby's original name of Giovanni, given during the father's absence in France, was changed by him on his return to Francesco, and, through this French connection, the boy got some acquaintance with the French tongue. He also received instruction in reading, writing, and Latin from the priests of the neighbouring church of San Giorgio, although probably of an elementary description only. He became a chief favourite among the young men of Assisi, nobles and bourgeois alike, a leader in their revels, gay, open-handed, and courteous, showing even then an instinctive sympathy with the poor, and natural purity.

When about twenty Francis took part in one of the constant skirmishes between Assisi and her neighbour Perugia, and was taken prisoner and held captive in the latter city for a year (1202). During this time, we are told, he never lost his cheerfulness, but kept up the spirits of his com-

panions. Not long after his release and return home he was attacked by a severe illness, which probably deepened the serious side of his nature. For some time he seems to have remained in a troubled and unsettled condition ; unsatisfied with his old life, but not knowing what course to take, he began to seek inspiration in solitude and prayer. He was unstinted in almsgiving, and his generous action toward the poor knight, and the vision with which it was rewarded (cf. p. 74), date from this period, as does also the story of his meeting with the leper,¹ and first efforts to serve the lepers, overcoming the natural repugnance with which they had always inspired him.

Then came the behest of the Crucifix of St. Damian's (cf. p. 75) to repair the House of God that was falling into ruin, his literal interpretation of it, and impulsive disposal of his horse and bales of cloth to obtain the required money ; the priest's refusal to accept money thus acquired ; Francis's temporary hiding at St. Damian's in fear of his father's anger ; then his return home, to be mocked at by the townsfolk as a madman, and beaten and imprisoned by his father. The latter, finding his son thus unaccountably changed and firmly set on his new purpose, was not content with having recovered his money from St. Damian's, but de-

¹ Bon., i. 5.

clared that he would take him before the Bishop and force him to renounce all claim to his inheritance. This Francis was eager to do, and then (1207) followed the well-known scene of his renunciation of the world and of his father before the Bishop (cf. p. 76).

After this crisis, he wandered about in the scanty clothing of a labourer, poor and unknown, doing menial service in convents, and tending lepers ; then returned to Assisi to rebuild, by his own labour, three ruined churches, begging his bread from those who had known him in his days of wealth and popularity. "They marvelled," we are told, "for they knew that he had lived delicately in the world," and at last his earnestness and self-sacrifice began to have their effect ; the townsfolk ceased to scoff, and began to help him.

Before long (1209) three companions joined him, two of them, Bernard da Quintavalle and Peter da Catana, being men of wealth and position. They, and the others who gradually associated themselves with them, stripped themselves absolutely of all they possessed, giving their goods to the poor, and wearing only the rough habit with its knotted rope. Thus they literally fulfilled the Gospel commands : "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses, nor scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes, nor yet staves," and "If

thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor . . . and come and follow Me."¹ These commands Francis had taken for the rule of his and their life.

When the little band numbered twelve, Francis determined to seek the Pope, and obtain his sanction for this their simple rule (1210). The great Innocent III, alarmed perhaps by some recent heretical attempts that bore a certain likeness to the scheme of these "Penitents of Assisi," at first gave them scant, or at any rate very guarded, encouragement. The story goes that he was won over to favour Francis by a vision in which he beheld the despised pilgrim supporting the tottering church of St. John Lateran (cf. p. 77), whereupon he gave a verbal sanction to the Rule (cf. p. 78), and promised further tokens of approval later if good progress was made.

The little company returned joyfully to Assisi, living first in a deserted hut at Rivo-Torto, on the plain below the city, then building a settlement of mud-huts round the little shrine of the neighbouring Portiuncula (St. Mary of the Little Portion), which may be called the central spot in the life of Francis, as it was certainly the dearest to his heart. Following the example of Christ, Francis sent them abroad to preach, and went himself, everywhere

¹ St. Matt. x. 9 and 10; xix. 21.

gaining new recruits for his company of "Brothers Minor" (as out of humility he named them), and everywhere now greeted with enthusiastic devotion. Their salutation to all was "The Lord give you His peace," and Francis often proved himself a reconciler and peacemaker. We meet with exquisite stories in the early biographers of his power and influence over his fellow-men, and over the dumb creation, stories that are too familiar to need repetition. One of the most beautiful incidents, the Sermon to the Birds, we shall find often painted (cf. p. 85).

The Second and Third Orders were started as it were unforeseen, and owing to an impulse from without. Francis must have been almost taken aback when the young Chiara, of the noble family of the Scifi in Assisi, besought to be allowed to embrace this new Rule (1212), and certainly when crowds in every city and village wished to follow him, he must have realized on what a tremendous undertaking he was embarked. For these folk, many of them married, or otherwise debarred from leaving the world, he devised, probably in 1221, his lay Order, called the Order of Penitence. Its members, known as Tertiaries, were vowed to a pure life and to simple religious observances; they soon spread all over Europe, and were skilfully

engineered by the Papacy to become one of its strongest instruments against the Emperors.¹

For the story of St. Clare, who soon became the head of the first Convent of Sisters of the Order at St. Damian's, see pp. 188-192.

About this time (1213), Francis received from a friendly nobleman, Ser Orlando of Chiusi in the Casentino, the gift of Mount La Verna, as a lonely place to which he might retire for prayer and contemplation, as he did at intervals, living in little shelters woven of branches.

It is possible that Francis visited Spain in the year 1214-15.

In November 1215, we know that he was in Rome for the Fourth Lateran Council, when his Rule was formally confirmed, and when he very probably met Dominic. Innocent III died at Perugia in the July of the next year (1216), and the English chronicler, Thomas of Eccleston, tells us that Francis was present at his death. According to M. Sabatier, it was shortly after the election of his successor, Honorius III, which also took place at Perugia in 1216, that Francis made his

¹ Some recent writers—Father Mandonnet and Dr. Müller, for example—have tried to show that this lay Order of Penitence was Francis's first, original intention. But their case is not as yet sufficiently established to preclude the giving of the more usual account, as above.

petition for the Indulgence of the Portiuncula (cf. ch. vii.).

Francis had always felt a burning desire for the conversion of the infidels, and for martyrdom for Christ's sake. Accordingly he started for the East, probably in 1219; at any rate, we know from the learned French Prelate, Jacques de Vitry, that he was present at the siege and taking of Damietta in 1219. The Legends describe how Francis visited the "Soldan of Babylon," and proposed an Ordeal by fire as a test of the true faith (cf. p. 81); the *Fioresetti* even make him convert this Soldan. Be this as it may, he did not return from the East till 1220, when news was brought him of the innovations that his Vicar, Elias, was attempting to introduce in his absence. These were sternly denounced by him on his return.

At the famous "Chapter of the Mats," held at the Portiuncula in 1221, about five thousand Brethren are said to have been present, relying entirely for their food on the devout charity of the countryside; nor did this fail them.

1221 is the traditional date for the founding of the Third Order.

In this year, too, Francis drew up a second¹ Rule, or rather a series of appeals and exhortations to his sons, probably suggested by the recent signs

¹ For the three Rules, cf. Sabatier, *Vie de St. François*, ch. xv.

of dissension in the Order, and the grief with which they inspired him. It was, however, too lengthy and wanting in precision to become the formal Rule, so two years later (1223) a concise and modified version of it was drawn up, and submitted to Honorius III. for confirmation, which it duly received.

At Christmastide of this year (1223) Francis conceived and carried out the idea of reproducing the Bethlehem stable in a church at Greccio, near Rieti, thus instituting the representations that have since become so frequent and popular (cf. p. 83).

The year 1224 is ever memorable in the Franciscan annals, for it was, we are told, in the September of it that Francis, while observing "a Lent in honour of St. Michael Archangel"¹ amid the rugged precipices of Mount La Verna, beheld the vision of the crucified Seraph, and was transformed into the likeness of Christ by the impression of His wounds (stigmata) on his body, as a token of the glowing love in his heart (cf. p. 88). Hence his name of the "Seraphic Father"—a title bestowed also on his Order and on Assisi, "the Seraphic City."

Shortly before, we are told that Francis had been divinely warned that he had but two years more to

¹ The vision took place on 14 September, but as that day was already consecrated to the Feast of the Exaltation of Holy Cross, the Feast of the Stigmata was transferred to 17 September, on which day it is still celebrated.

live ; and indeed his strength was almost worn out by his unremitting labours, austerities, and frequent illnesses, while sometimes for days together he would be almost or totally blind. It was in one such period of suffering (September, 1225) that he composed, in the garden at St. Damian's, his beautiful "Song of Brother Sun and of the other Creatures of the Lord." (The best translation of it that I know is by Matthew Arnold, in his essay on "Pagan and Medieval Religious Sentiment.")

In this same year Francis underwent an unsuccessful operation for the eyes.

In the early autumn of 1226, after lying for some weeks ill at the Bishop's Palace in Assisi, he begged to be carried down to his beloved Portiuncula. On the way he halted, and pronounced a blessing over his native city. His last hours were spent in consoling his sorrowing brethren, in prayer and praise, and rejoicing that "he had kept faith with his Lady, Poverty, unto the end." He also composed his "Testamentum," really an account of his guiding principles, and directions for his followers. His friend, the Lady Jacoba di Settesoli, of Rome, with her two sons, arrived in time to bid him farewell, and on the evening of 3 October,¹ while reciting the 142nd Psalm, he passed away (cf. p. 89).

¹ As it was after sunset, it counted as 4 October, by the reckoning then in use at Assisi, and 4 October was the day dedicated to him in the Roman calendar.

The townsfolk flocked down from Assisi, many saw and kissed the sacred stigmata, and a doubter named Jerome was, like St. Thomas, convinced (cf. p. 90). The body was carried with all reverence to the city, a halt being made at St. Damian's that St. Clare and her Sisters might mourn over it (cf. p. 91). For nearly two years it rested in San Giorgio (now Sta. Chiara), and was then (1228) solemnly translated to the new church of San Francesco, in the presence of Pope Gregory IX., who came in person to preside over the translation and canonization (cf. p. 92).

CHAPTER II

The outward appearance of St. Francis, as described in literature—
How far the early pictures can be considered portraits

ANY who have come under the spell of St. Francis, who have at all realized the potent influence that he has wielded and the devout affection that he has inspired, from his own day until the present, will naturally seek to know what manner of man he was to look upon. Turning to the early "Legends" and other contemporary writings, they will find a detailed word-portrait of the Saint, and various indications as to his personal appearance scattered throughout them.

The word-portrait is the well-known description by Thomas of Celano, who had himself known St. Francis while living. It occurs in his *Vita Prima*¹ of 1228, and is a curious blending of moral and physical traits. After alluding to the Saint as "cheerful and kindly of countenance," Celano goes on to say :

He was of moderate height, inclining to shortness. His head was of ordinary size, and round; his face was long, with

¹ Lib. i. cap. 10 (*A.S.S.*, vol. I., p. 706).

prominent features, his brow narrow and smooth ; his eyes were fair-sized, black, and frank ; his hair dark (*fuscus*), his eyebrows straight ; his nose thin, well-formed, and straight ; his ears were erect and small, and his temples smooth ; his speech was persuasive, fiery and pointed ; his voice eager, sweet, clear, and musical ; his teeth were close-set, even, and white, his lips small and thin ; his beard was black, and not very full ; his neck was slender, his shoulders erect, his arms short, his hands thin, the fingers long, with long nails ; his legs were thin, and his feet small ; his skin was delicate, and he had very little flesh.

Another description is by a certain Thomas of Spalato,¹ archdeacon of the Cathedral in that city. While he was a student at Bologna, he heard St. Francis preach there on the Feast of the Assumption, in the year 1220. "His clothing," he says, "was squalid, his bodily presence contemptible, his countenance unlovely." But, in spite of all, his words were so divinely inspired that the warring nobles were moved to make peace, while the crowds pressed round to touch his habit.

Francis alludes to himself as "black" (*niger*) and "small" (*statura pusillus*) in a parable related by the "Three Companions";² the description might have been possibly considered to apply to his spiritual state, as in his humility he would look on it, did it not corroborate the other accounts of his

¹ A.S.S., vol. I., p. 842.

² 3 Soc., xvi. 63.

personal appearance. Bonaventura, in describing the dazzling whiteness of the Saint's body after death, says that it had formerly "tended towards swarthiness" (*ad nigredinem declinabat*).¹

Two stories in the *Fioretti*, both connected with the name of Brother Masseo, confirm the idea of the somewhat insignificant appearance of St. Francis. When, we read, he went about asking alms :

Because he was mean to look upon, and small of stature, and was deemed thereby a vile beggar by whoso knew him not, he got by his begging naught save a few mouthfuls and scraps of dry bread; but to Brother Masseo, in that he was tall and fair of form, were given good pieces, large and in plenty, and of fresh bread.² (On another occasion) the said Brother Masseo desired to make proof of his humility, and . . . as though mocking said : . . . "Why doth all the world come after thee, and why is it seen that all men long to see thee, and hear thee, and obey thee? Thou art not a man comely of form, thou art not of much wisdom, thou art not noble of birth . . ."³

Many allusions to the Saint's "frail body," and emaciation resulting from incessant toil and frequent illnesses, are found in all the "Legends."

So much for what literature has to tell us of the outward appearance of St. Francis. When we

¹ Bon., xv. 2.

² *The Little Flowers*, ch. xiii. (Temple Classics translation.)

³ *Ib.*, ch. x.

turn to art, to the study of the traditional portraits, and of other contemporary or almost contemporary pictures of the Saint, we are at once confronted by a serious difficulty, *i.e.* how to account for their departure from the literary descriptions, and for the very material discrepancies existing between them.

Now these various pictures do agree in preserving some of the characteristics of the word-portraits ; for instance, the long thin face, with prominent cheek-bones and straight nose ; the slender neck, and long thin hands ; the scanty beard, and slight build. But here the resemblance between them ceases. Even this amount of similarity is partly accounted for by the Byzantine art-traditions which were common to all these painters, and by their common aim of portraying the asceticism that they regarded as a chief element of saintliness. In colouring they differ in every possible way. Some have red or light brown hair, with a fair skin and grey eyes, others black or dark brown hair, with a swarthy skin and black or brown eyes. Curiously enough, the supposed most ancient and authentic picture of all, that in the *Sacro Speco* at *Subiaco*, gives a blonde type, in direct contradiction to the word-portraits. Cimabue, in his fresco in the Lower Church, *Assisi*, gives reddish brown hair ; Berlinghieri, at

Pescia, a light brown. Margaritone and Giunta Pisano vary between reddish hair and black, a picture by each of them in Room I of the Pinacoteca, *Perugia*, giving the latter. Giotto, and the great majority of Central Italian painters after him, make the Saint chestnut-haired. In his "Allegories" of the Lower Church, and in the Bardi Chapel frescoes, Giotto departs from the bearded type that he had chosen for his series in the Upper Church.

The existence of a blonde type for St. Francis, side by side with the other, is probably due in some cases—maybe at Subiaco itself—to the fading or retouching of the original colour; in many, to ignorance of, or indifference to, the written descriptions, literature, as Sir Martin Conway¹ has pointed out, having shown itself "much more sensitive to the new requirements of truthful description . . . than painting." The type, once established, would be conventionally repeated, and, as time went on, artists would draw more freely upon their imagination.

The discrepancies between the various portraits, and their departure from the literary tradition, have been glossed over in a somewhat unhistorical manner by some writers, in their anxiety to show that art does really give us the *vera effigies* of St. Francis.

¹ *Early Tuscan Art*, p. 98

Hare,¹ for instance, actually pronounces the Subiaco portrait to be "in exact accordance with the verbal description," and then quotes Celano's first few sentences, carefully stopping before that describing the colouring. And Westlake² considers that it, the portrait at San Francesco a Ripa, *Rome*, and the Giotto types, are all in accord with the portrait by Giunta Pisano in the Sacristy of San Francesco, *Assisi*—a conclusion that seems to me astounding.

The remark just quoted from Sir Martin Conway helps us, I think, to a right estimate of the so-called portraits of St. Francis. The art of exact portraiture was not understood in the early thirteenth century.³ We have seen how a painter could be so little "sensitive to the new requirements of truthful description" as to be inconsistent in his different pictures of the same person. I do not think we need flatly deny, with a learned editor of the *Analecta Bollandiana*,⁴ that "the Seraphic Father was ever painted in his lifetime." The date of 1235 on Berlinghieri's picture, and of 1240 for Cimabue's birth, preclude any claim for their

¹ *Days Near Rome*, vol. i. p. 309.

² *The Authentic Portraiture of St. Francis of Assisi*, pp. 4, 6, etc.

³ As Thode admits, p. 69: "Ein eigentliches Portrait . . . war das xiii Jahrhundert noch nicht fähig zu schaffen."

⁴ Vol. xvii. p. 483.

portraits being painted from life, but others—Giunta, for example, or the Subiaco artist—may quite possibly have painted St. Francis from life, and yet have shown complete disregard of such details as the colour of hair and eyes. Or they may have painted him from memory, fashioning an *immagine commemorativa*, to use an expression of Sig. Hermanin's, which we shall consider below.

But, whatever conjectures we may choose to make, we have to remember that *there is no historical evidence to prove that any one of these portraits was actually painted from life*. In the light of the above considerations, I personally have been compelled, though with great regret, to the conclusion that we have no true portrait (in the modern sense of the word) of St. Francis. This conclusion will, of course, not be accepted by all. My own regret is only tempered by the thought of how far short all these pictures (except, possibly, that at Subiaco), fall of our idea of Francis, how unsatisfying they are beside the conceptions of Fra Angelico and Andrea della Robbia. If Cimabue's figure of the Saint is wanting in charm, as must surely be admitted, Berlinghieri and Margaritone furnish us with veritable nightmares! But, when all has been said, these early pictures have still a great interest, as showing the way in which the thirteenth-century craftsmen conceived of St. Francis, and as

having been traditionally associated with his likeness throughout the centuries.

The following list gives most of the important thirteenth-century pictures of St. Francis still existing. Countless replicas of them must have been made, as we learn incidentally from Bonaventura¹ that they were to be found in churches and private houses even by the time at which he was writing his *Life*, i.e. about 1260.

In the Sacro Speco, *Subiaco*.

In the Baptistry, *Parma*.

In San Francesco a Ripa, *Rome*.

By the Greek artist Melormus, in the Pinacoteca, *Pisa*, and a copy in the sacristy of San Francesco, *Assisi*.

By (?) Giunta Pisano, at *Assisi*; one in the inner sacristy of San Francesco; one at Sta. Maria degli Angeli.

In the Vatican Christian Museum, *Rome*. Probably by Giunta.

In the Pinacoteca, *Perugia* (Room I). Probably by Giunta.

In the Eremo, *Greccio*.

In San Francesco, *Pescia*. By Berlinghieri.

¹ Bon., *Miracles*, ch. i. 4, 6.

In the Accademia, *Florence* (Room I, 101). By (?) Berlinghieri.

In the Lower Church, *Assisi*. Attributed to Cimabue.

In the Upper Church, *Assisi*. By an artist of the Roman school.

The *mosaics* of the Lateran, Sta. Maria Maggiore, and the Colonna Palace, in *Rome* (cf. pp. 64, 168).

Various works by Margaritone d'Arezzo, including :—

A panel (signed) in the Vatican Christian Museum.

One in the Ist. di B.A., *Siena*. (I, 2).

The altar-piece of the Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, *Florence*.

A picture in San Francesco, *Pistoia*.

(These last two are probably by Margaritone.)

A life-size figure in the Pinacoteca, *Arezzo*.

Crucifixes, with the figure of St. Francis introduced, at San Francesco, *Arezzo* (here the Saint stands, instead of kneeling, as usual); at San Francesco, *Montefalco*; at Sant' Andrea, *Spello*; in the Pinacoteca, *Perugia* (Room I).

A small panel in the Pinacoteca, *Perugia* (viii. 16) is inscribed **VERA EFFIGIES S. FRANCISCI**; it is a

half-length figure, one hand raised in blessing, the hood over the head. It is much darkened, and I do not know what claims it has to be considered authentic.

A portrait of the Saint (Sienese School, thirteenth century) in the Ist. di B.A., *Siena*, is reproduced by Thode (Plate VIII). I do not myself remember it. The hair and beard are fair.

In the next chapter, some of the pictures in the foregoing list will be briefly discussed ; the word "portrait" used in connection with them must be understood in a conventional sense merely.

CHAPTER III

Thirteenth-century pictures of St. Francis—At Subiaco, Parma, Assisi, Rome, Pescia, etc.—By Margaritone

THE SUBIACO FRESCO¹

THE picture of St. Francis at *Subiaco* is unique in one respect—it shows no trace of either the stigmata, a halo, or the title “Sanctus.” The omission of all these three constitutes its strongest claim to be considered a contemporary portrait; its second is the constant tradition that Francis visited Subiaco from Rome, and the fact that his friend Gregory IX, when Bishop of Ostia, certainly did so, and is painted on the opposite wall of the same chapel.

The Sacro Speco, or grotto of St. Benedict, is really a cluster of chapels hewn out of the rock above and around the cave to which the youthful Benedict retired from the world, and where he received his first disciples. Hence it has been well called “the cradle of Western monasticism.” The chapels contain early frescoes of great interest, as showing the development of a local school of

¹ Practical hints for visiting Subiaco will be found on p. 211.



ST. FRANCIS

Sacro Speco, Subiaco

To face p. 30

painters from the Byzantine. A complete description of the Sacro Speco and the neighbouring monastery of Sta. Scolastica is being undertaken under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction in Rome ; the section dealing with the frescoes, by Signor Hermanin,¹ contains a detailed and critical discussion² of the portrait of St. Francis, frankly admitting its disagreement with Celano's description.

The fresco is near the door (on the wall to the right) of the *Cappella di San Gregorio*, or *degli Angeli*. It is covered with a wire netting, and is rather under life-size. The face is youthful, with a mild, pensive expression that suggests the visionary — a suggestion accentuated by the parted lips. The eyes are large and grey, his left being noticeably larger than his right ; the eyebrows marked, the nose long and straight, the fingers long and thin. The hair, which shows the tonsure, is of an indefinite light brown, with darker streaks ; the chin is covered with a soft thin beard and moustache of the same colour. The ears furnish another point of disagreement with Celano, being here large and ugly. The habit is grey, girt with a white cord, its peaked hood stands stiffly up above the Saint's head.

¹ *Le Pitture dei monasteri Sublacensi* (Rome, 1904.)

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 29-33, 39-46, 66-7. Plate II reproduces the fresco.

In one hand he holds a scroll, inscribed **PAX HUIC DOMUI**—his wonted salutation on entering any house. On either side of the head are the simple words **FR FRĀCISCU** (Brother Francis). The minute figure of a suppliant or donor, kneeling at his feet, can just be distinguished.

The fresco has, of course, been restored, notably in 1855. It is enclosed in hard outlines ; whether these were original or not I do not know. The bottom part of the habit, the feet, and hand with the scroll have all been touched up ; the face, however, looks as if it may have suffered less than in some other cases. The painter is unknown. He is sometimes supposed to have been the “Oddo Monaco” (or Eudes), whose small kneeling figure, in monkish garb, is painted on one wall of the chapel, with his name. But Sig. Hermanin has pointed out¹ that Oddo was more probably a donor, who commissioned the decoration of the chapel, than a painter, who actually executed it. The Religious were often painted in this capacity. In an adjoining chapel we find a fresco signed by a “Magister Conxolus,”² but his work,—though showing a certain affinity, due to common Byzantine traditions and the modifying influences of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 35–6.

² Cf. Hermanin, *Op. cit.*, pp. 66–7. Hare actually describes “Concioli” as “a rare Umbrian master” !

new local school, to that in the Cappella di San Gregorio, has marked characteristics of its own which the latter does not share. But the fresco of Gregory IX is obviously by the painter of the "St. Francis," a painter who makes his bodies too long for the size of the heads, his hands flat and expressive, and who has very rudimentary ideas of rendering drapery or action. But, mediocre craftsman as he was, we feel that he put his best into this figure of St. Francis, *quasi un' amorosa cura*, as Sig. Hermanin says; it attracts us partly because it makes us feel that its subject had attracted him. It is far more living than the "Gregory IX."

For the date, we have no direct evidence. The year of St. Francis's visit is quite uncertain; M. Sabatier¹ suggests that it may have been in 1218. A tablet on the wall by the fresco gives 1223; Wadding puts it a year earlier.² 1223 is usually supposed to be the latest date possible for the fresco, as the impression of the stigmata took place in the following year. But if we consider the "St. Francis" fresco in connection with that of his friend and protector, Ugolino, Bishop of Ostia,

¹ *Vie de St. François*, p. 240.

² *Annals*, II. p. 36. Wadding briefly describes the two frescoes, and tells the story of the thorns in the Subiaco garden blossoming into roses at the touch of St. Francis. The rose bushes are still shown.

afterwards Gregory IX, we feel how probable it was that the two were painted at the same time. And we have the date for this latter fresco clearly given us in the verse inscription below it : PONTIFICIS SUMMI FUIT ANNO PICTA SECUNDO, *i.e.* in 1228. Now this fresco is clearly retrospective. It depicts Gregory, not as he was in 1228, *i.e.* aged, and a Pope, but *as he had been* at the time that he consecrated this identical chapel—the action depicted in the fresco—when he was merely Bishop of Ostia. Why should not the picture of Francis be similarly retrospective, a figure of him *as he had been* at the time of his visit, *i.e.* not yet canonized, and without the stigmata? Inaccuracy in details would then be easily accounted for by the lapse of time which had blurred the artist's impressions. Sig. Hermanin¹ ably argues the case for the fresco being thus *un'immagine commemorativa*, and concludes: “It was wrought by one who did not remember the actual features of the Saint, but who cherished a warm affection for him, and sought to image him forth as he lived in his own heart.”²

[Before leaving the Cappella di San Gregorio, the figure of the Archangel Michael, swinging a censer, should be noticed (to the r. of the window).

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 42, 44.

² Thode (p. 73) seems to concur in this, by calling the portrait “eine Erinnerung” of Francis’s visit.

It is an interesting coincidence, in view of St. Francis's known devotion to St. Michael (cf. p. 61), to find him here, with the inscription MICHAEL PREPOSIT[US] PARADISI ESTO MEMOR NOSTRI.]

THE PARMA FRESCO

The fresco in the Baptistry, *Parma* (first niche to l. of door), is by an unknown artist of the thirteenth century, who was still entirely under Byzantine influence. Other figures in the Baptistry from the same hand show him to have had but little power of execution ; they are ugly and grotesque, as is the short figure in grey, with the hood drawn over his head, and one hand held up in exhortation or blessing, which traditionally represents our Saint. There is a certain undeniable vigour about the attitude. Two extraordinary Seraphim stand by him. He has a halo, but no stigmata. On the strength of this omission, the fresco has been considered a contemporary portrait, painted in 1220, when St. Francis is known to have passed through Parma. The halo, it is argued, might conceivably have been given then, as popular opinion had canonized Francis in his lifetime. But the presence of the Seraphim, especially as they are found nowhere else in the Baptistry, seems to indicate a knowledge of the La Verna story, and a

desire mystically to represent it. In that case, its date must, of course, be posterior to 1224, and, with the addition of the halo, probably to 1228 (the year of the canonization). Nor is the absence of the stigmata a real argument for the earlier date; Affò has pointed out that, from the position of the figure, only the stigma on the right hand could ever have been seen, and that that may very likely have faded. It must, however, be admitted that, as the niche has been considerably repainted, the stigmata would probably have been renewed had they originally been there. A suggestion has even been made that the figure is not meant for St. Francis at all, but that the fresco represents the vision of Ezekiel; against this, we have the habit, and a certain likeness to the Pescia portrait, although the hair here is darker. Manzoni accepts it as a genuine portrait, and reproduces it as Plate V in his illustrated edition of the *Fioretti*. The references in the foot-note may be found helpful to those interested in the question.¹

¹ References for the Parma fresco. C. and C., vol. i. p. 75 (note 4). Affò, *Vita del B. Giovanni da Parma*, p. 17 (note). Lopez, *Il Battistero di Parma*, p. 110. Manzoni, *I Fioretti di Sancto Franchiescho*, etc., p. 263. (He incorrectly cites Affò in his support.) Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, p. 75.

SAN FRANCESCO A RIPA, ROME

This picture is preserved in a small upper sacristy, in a cupboard with folding doors. It is considerably under life-size ; the eyes are large, dark, and round ; the face is long and oval, with the usual marked eyebrows, and long, straight nose ; the hair is lightish brown, with a slight down on the chin. The habit is brown, with the hood over the head ; the stigmata round and black. Their presence, and that of the halo, would point to a date after 1228, but the halo may perhaps be a later addition to the original picture. The whole has been much repainted and varnished. The saint holds an open book, inscribed¹ QUI VULT VENIRE POST ME ABNEGET SEMETIPSUM ET TOLLAT (rest illegible). The painter may quite possibly have known St. Francis, who used to stay at the little Convent here on his visits to Rome ; a stone, now let into the wall of this sacristy, is said to have served him as a pillow.

PORTRAITS BY MELORMUS

Wadding,² under the year 1212, mentions pictures of St. Francis painted from life by the Greek artist Melormus, whom he calls "the most famous painter of that time," at the bidding of the Count of Monte Aguto. He says they were in accord with

¹ St. Matt. xvi. 24.

² *Annals*, I. p. 122.

the description of Celano. Thode thinks that the originals cannot now be traced, but Sir Martin Conway¹ mentions one in the gallery at *Pisa*, and a copy of one in his own possession ; presumably the same that he subsequently presented to San Francesco, *Assisi* (cf. p. 149).

PORTRAITS AT ASSISI

The portrait ascribed to Giunta Pisano in the sacristy of San Francesco, *Assisi*, has been assumed by many writers—Westlake, for instance—to be authoritative, and the original on which other portraits were based. The high value that has been thus placed on it seems hardly justified when we remember that it must date from after 1253, the altar in the Lower Church (which appears in two of its legend scenes) having been only consecrated in that year.² The picture, moreover, is so fettered by Byzantine conventions, and so evidently intended to convey an ascetic ideal, that any value which it might possibly have had as a likeness is seriously diminished. It has, moreover, suffered from varnishing and retouching.

That several other portraits do closely resemble this is undeniable. In the case of the Berlinghieri portrait, the likeness is probably accounted for by the strongly-marked Byzantine influence common

¹ *Early Tuscan Art*, pp. 96, 97.

² Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

to both. The portrait at Sta. Maria degli Angeli and that in the Vatican Christian Museum, to be described below, are replicas or copies of that at San Francesco, very probably by the same hand. Bonghi¹ states that Morelli assured him that the San Francesco portrait was a genuine work by Giunta Pisano. Thode,² while recognizing that it and the Vatican picture are by the same artist, considers his identity as yet unproved.

The San Francesco portrait has reddish brown hair, a slight beard, and dark eyes; the face is thin, with a suffering expression. Westlake considers that the eyes reveal, on close examination, traces of an "ocular defect," such as we know did exist in the later years. As is usual in Byzantine pictures, the feet seem to be suspended in air. The figure, which is disproportionate in length, is surrounded by small legend scenes. The stigmata are shown. The Saint holds a book inscribed : *Si³ VIS PERFECTUS ESSE VADE VENDE OMNIA QUAE HABES ET DA PAUPERIBUS.* The picture is inscribed *SANCTUS FRANCISCUS.*

The portrait at Sta. Maria degli Angeli,⁴ *Assisi*, is, as we have said, very similar, though with

¹ R. Bonghi, *San Francesco d' Assisi*, Appendix II. p. 10c.

² Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

³ St. Matt. xix. 21.

⁴ In the Cappella di San Carlo Borromeo.

perhaps rather less character. Needless to say, it also has been repainted. There are two half-length angels in the top corners. It is painted on wood, supposed to be the Saint's pallet, as an inscription on the open book that he holds testifies : **HIC MICHI VIVENTI LECTUS FUIT ET MORIENTI.** Thode¹ denies the traditional attribution to Giunta Pisano of this picture too, and would assign it to a follower of Margaritone, whom he christens "Meister des Franziskus," and to whom he would further assign the scenes from the life of St. Francis in the nave of the Lower Church (usually attributed to Giunta); the Crucifix with the kneeling St. Francis in Room I of the Pinacoteca, *Perugia* (usually attributed to Margaritone), and, perhaps, the figure of St. Clare in Sta. Chiara, *Assisi* (sometimes attributed to Cimabue).

Another so-called portrait at Sta. Maria degli Angeli has been so restored and repainted as to be quite valueless.

VATICAN MUSEUM OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES²

In the first case to the right, on entering, there are two full-length figures of St. Francis. One

¹ Thode, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 78.

² Adjoining the Biblioteca. The pictures, for the most part quite small panels, are arranged in glass cases, where they are difficult to examine. No names are given, and no catalogue was procurable. I believe one exists in MS.

(numbered iii.) strongly recalls that in the sacristy at San Francesco, except that it has the hood over the head. The hair and slight beard are of a dark red-brown ; the eyes are dark. The stigmata are shown. There are small miracle scenes down the sides (cf. p. 121).

The other (numbered iv.) is by Margaritone (signed). The peak of the hood falls over to the right side of the head ; the hair is dark, the eyes large and dark.

PINACOTECA, PERUGIA

Both Giunta and Margaritone are represented in Sala I (numbers 26 and 10) of this gallery, as has been already pointed out, by a "St. Francis." Both have quite dark hair and eyes, and show the stigmata. This gigantic Crucifix (with St. Francis) of Margaritone is dated 1272.

THE PICTURE AT GRECCIO

This picture was traditionally painted from life for Francis's friend, the Lady Jacoba di Settesoli, in Rome. The Saint is represented as short of stature, with the stigmata, and wiping away tears with a handkerchief. This somewhat mournful effigy is known to me only from its reproduction as the

frontispiece to Canon Rawnsley's translation of the *Sacrum Commercium*. (Temple Classics, 1904.)

Greccio, as will be remembered, is rich in Franciscan associations. Here the *Presepio* was instituted (cf. p. 83); here the "Three Companions" wrote their *Legend*; here John of Parma found a retreat. Its comparatively inaccessible position has, I believe, helped to keep its Convent, or *Eremo*, unspoilt, and of a Franciscan simplicity.¹

THE PESCHIA² PORTRAIT

The figure of St. Francis by Berlinghieri in San Francesco, *Pescia* (over the third altar to the right), corresponds in several respects to that by Giunta at Assisi. The feet, in the same way, seem to rest on nothing; the face is long and bony, and the eyes dark; the figure too long; there are two angels similar to those in the Sta. Maria degli Angeli portrait above the head. Although the hair and slight beard are of a lighter brown, the effect of the whole is dark, perhaps owing to the glazing, or to the painter's treatment of shadows. The expression is solemn and staring. One hand holds

¹ For a charming description of this and other early settlements, see Beryl de Sélincourt, *Homes of the First Franciscans*. (Dent, 1905.)

² Practical hints for visiting Pescia will be found on p. 211.

a book, the other points to the wound in the side. The stigmata on hands and feet are represented as round black spots ; the fingers are very long, with badly drawn nails ; the ears are almost triangular. The hood is drawn over the head, which is flat-shaped. On either side are the letters S. FRĀ CISC (the rest illegible). At the bottom is the date and signature—

A.D. MCCXXXV

BONAVĒTURA BERLIGHERI . . . (rest illegible).

Several copies were made of this picture. There is, for example, an ancient one in the Montecuccoli collection at *Modena*, mentioned by Bonghi and Thode.

A diptych ascribed to Berlinghieri in the Accademia, *Florence* (I. 101), contains small figures of SS. Francis and Antony below a “Crucifixion.” It is a barbarous piece of work, and may possibly be by one of his thirteenth-century followers of the school of Lucca (cf. p. 168).

ASSISI—UPPER AND LOWER CHURCH

The fresco attributed to Cimabue in the Lower Church, in which the figure of St. Francis occurs, and the *tondo* on the vaulting of the Upper Church, in which he is represented, will be described in dealing with the Basilica (cf. pp. 144, 158).

PICTURES BY MARGARITONE

The portrait of St. Francis in the sacristy of San Francesco, *Pistoia*, is probably the work of Margaritone, although, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle point out,¹ it has sometimes been "falsely assigned to Lippo Memmi." It is a square picture on wood, with a gilt background, and small scenes painted all round. The figure and face are long and thin, the hair red-brown, the head flat. An inscription shows that it was restored in the seventeenth century.

The confusion with Lippo Memmi may perhaps be accounted for by the existence of a fresco of St. Francis (much restored), above the altar in the left transept, near the choir in which Memmi is supposed to have worked.

The altarpiece of the Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, *Florence*, is also probably by Margaritone,² though it has been ascribed to Cimabue. It has a gold background, with two angels above the head, and legend scenes all round (cf. p. 121). There is an evident, but not very successful, attempt to give a mild expression. The hair is red-brown, the eyes dark, the stigmata black and round. One hand holds a book, the other is raised to bless.

¹ C. and C., vol. i. p. 167.

² Thode thinks not. *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

There is a life-size figure of St. Francis by Margaritone (signed) in the Pinacoteca, *Arezzo*, whither it has been removed from the Convent of the *Zoccolanti* at Sargiano, most picturesquely situated on a wooded hillside within a short drive from Arezzo. It somewhat resembles the Sta. Croce picture. Vasari described it as *ritratto di naturale*, which more probably means "life-size" than "painted from life," as has been sometimes supposed.

CHAPTER IV

The figure of St. Francis in Italian art—Dress, emblems, etc.—
His presence in scenes from the life of Christ, and of the
Madonna—With other Saints—As patron—In allegories

WHEN we turn from the earliest representations of St. Francis, from the comparatively few that make any pretence of actual portraiture, we find a vast number of pictures in which his figure occurs, either singly or in company with other Saints. There is probably no Saint who was more frequently represented in Italian art, certainly none in that of the Tuscan and Umbrian schools. In the Pinacoteca at *Perugia* alone, there are more than fifty pictures of St. Francis or of Franciscan Saints.

If one had to say which of all the Italian painters gives us the best ideal, as opposed to portrait, presentation of St. Francis, I should unhesitatingly choose *Fra Angelico*. He delights to associate him with his own patron, St. Dominic, and his tender simplicity, ardent devotion, and childlike joy in all things pure and lovely, reveal a spirit truly akin to that of Francis. His early residence at *Cortona*, on the very borders of Umbria, would have given him



ST. FRANCIS
(DETAIL FROM THE "CRUCIFIXION")

To face p. 46

FRA ANGELICO
Chapter-house, San Marco
Florence

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every opportunity for hearing all the stories of the Saint. Angelico's kneeling St. Francis, in the Chapterhouse "Crucifixion," at San Marco, *Florence*, seems to me as noble and expressive a representation of him as any that we have.

The elder Francia, and pre-eminently the painters of Francis's own Umbria, give him his right atmosphere and setting, although their tenderness sometimes degenerates into sentimentality. And Andrea della Robbia (*see chap. xii.*) should certainly take a first rank among the interpreters of St. Francis.

In this host of pictures, the type chosen for St. Francis by the different artists varies considerably ; the hair may be light or dark, the face round or long, but there are certain emblems and attributes that enable us to recognize him without difficulty.

THE HABIT, CORD, ETC.

He wears, of course, the habit of his Order, sometimes grey—the original colour—sometimes brown, to which it was changed later. The habit has a pointed hood, which is sometimes drawn over the head, as in the portraits at *Subiaco* and *Pescia*, but which more often hangs down behind. It is bound at the waist by a cord or rope, the distinctive sign of the Brothers Minor, from which they derived their name of "Cordeliers." The rope was assumed by St. Francis when he cast aside his

girdle, together with his shoes and purse, in obedience to our Lord's command (St. Matt. x. 9).

A legend¹ tells how St. Dominic, at the close of his meeting with St. Francis in Rome, begged the latter for his cord, by reason of the devotion that he bore him, and how he wore it ever after under his own habit. The cord reminds us too how Dante² describes himself as "girt with a cord" against the Leopard—Luxury, a statement which has given rise to much discussion, but which certainly seems to confirm the tradition of his having been a Franciscan Tertiary. The cord or rope has usually three knots, to symbolize the Three Orders founded by St. Francis. The habit in pictures is often patched, as it was in real life in the first heroic days.

In those days, too, the Brothers went barefoot, as Dante³ reminds us : "The venerable Bernard was the first to cast off his sandals . . . unsandals him Giles, unsandals him Silvester . . ."—also in obedience to Christ's command.

Shoes or sandals were, however, permitted by Francis,⁴ "if compelled by necessity," and the

¹ *Mirror of Perfection*, ch. xlivi.

² *Inferno*, xvi. 106. See Plumptre's note, p. 117 of his translation (Isbister).

³ *Paradiso*, xi., 79, 83.

⁴ *Mirror of Perfection*, ch. iii.

latter became associated in the popular mind with the Brothers Minor, who were sometimes called *Zoccolanti* (from *zoccolo*, a sandal). The Capuchins wear them still, while the Conventuals wear shoes.

After the reception of the stigmata, St. Francis himself wore sandals, so that he is sometimes depicted wearing them, sometimes barefoot.

The tonsure, which Pope Innocent III ordained for all the Brethren, is sometimes wide, sometimes narrow.

ST. FRANCIS IN DEACON'S VESTMENTS

St. Francis was in deacon's orders, although never a priest. Accordingly he is sometimes depicted in the vestments of a deacon, as in the "Glory of St. Francis" at *Assisi* (cf. p. 156); at *Pistoia* (cf. p. 105); and at *Montefalco* (cf. p. 110). In the account of the institution of the *Presepio* at *Greccio* (cf. p. 83), we read that "Francis, the Levite of Christ, chanted the Holy Gospel," and in pictures of this scene he generally wears deacon's vestments, as e.g. at :—

Assisi. Upper Church. By Giotto.

Pistoia. San Francesco-al-Prato. By Antonio Vite.

Florence. Acad. Room I, Panels (117-126). By Taddeo Gaddi.

Montefalco. San Francesco. By Benozzo Gozzoli.

■

When St. Francis is grouped, as often, with St. Lawrence, it is probably because both were deacons; e.g.:—

Assisi. Over a door next to San Lorenzo. Fresco signed “Chola Pictor.”

Spello. Sant' Andrea. By Pintoricchio.

EMBLEMS: THE CROSS, BOOK, ETC.

St. Francis usually holds a small Cross or Crucifix, and a book, emblems of the preacher, and of the follower of the Gospel. Sometimes one hand is raised in the act of blessing. The book is often open, and on the pages are inscribed texts appropriate to the Saint, such as, *SI VIS PERFECTUS ESSE, VADE, VENDE OMNIA QUAES HABES, ET DA PAUPERIBUS*;¹ or *EGO ENIM STIGMATA DOMINI JESU IN CORPORE MEO PORTO*;² or *CHRISTO CONFIXUS SUM CRUCI*.³ The Latin of these texts is usually contracted, sometimes faulty. Occasionally the words are taken from some of the well-known hymns on the Saint; for instance, *TRES ORDINES HIC ORDINAT*,⁴ in the picture by Taddeo Gaddi, at San Francesco, *Pisa* (ceiling of choir).

¹ St. Matt. xix. 21.

² Gal. vi. 17.

³ Gal. ii. 20.

⁴ A fresco with this same inscription, representing St. Francis as Founder of the Three Orders, is, according to Thode (p. 541), in the Cloisters of “Il Santo,” *Padua* (school of Mantegna). I was unable to find it.

Sometimes St. Francis is painted with a lamb, in allusion to his purity, and love for these “innocent creatures, setting forth Christ unto men.”¹ Another emblem of purity, the lily, is sometimes given to him, but more usually to his followers St. Clare or St. Antony of Padua, or to St. Dominic. Sometimes birds perch near him, as in the picture by Benozzo Gozzoli in our National Gallery.

In later pictures, where Francis becomes a sallow ascetic, gloomy and unkempt, he is often depicted meditating upon a skull, e.g.:—

Florence. Uffizi. (1st Tuscan room, 1192.) By Bronzino.

Florence. Pitti. (Sala di Marte, 75.) By Spagnoletto.

Venice. Acad. (247.) By Palma Giovine.

Representations of this class, common as they are among pictures of the later Italian and Spanish schools, are most painful and repellent, and show a complete misconception of their subject. This is not the Saint of the *Fioretti*, of the “Three Companions,” and of the “Song of Brother Sun.”

THE STIGMATA

But the most invariable and distinctive tokens of St. Francis are, of course, the stigmata. They were depicted from the earliest times; the fact of

¹ Bon., viii. 6.

their non-appearance in the *Subiaco* fresco is one of the strongest arguments adduced for its being a contemporary portrait, painted before 1224. The portraits attributed to Giunta, and that by Berlinghieri—the latter painted within ten years of the Saint's death—show them, and we learn from one of Bonaventura's narratives,¹ already cited, that they usually were shown in pictures of St. Francis.

We know that the Dominicans, out of jealousy, endeavoured to suppress their representation, but found popular enthusiasm, reinforced by Papal authority, too strong for them. They then claimed a like honour for St. Catherine of Siena a century and a half later, but in her case it never gained such widespread acceptance.

The stigmata are sometimes represented as described in the "Legends," i.e. as round black excrescences, like real nail-heads, but formed of flesh, in the hands and feet; more often they are painted as crimson scars, or as rays of light. The wound in the side is not always visible, but frequently the Saint is shown pointing to it with one hand—a gesture that ill accords with the scrupulous reticence and humility which he showed while living with regard to this "holy secret of the Lord." In pictures of the reception of the stigmata, golden or crimson lines are often seen pro-

¹ Bon., *Miracles*, i. 4.



ST. FRANCIS RECEIVING THE STIGMATA

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA
Sta. Maria degli Angeli, Assisi

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ceeding from the Seraph to the hands, feet, and side of the kneeling Saint—a very prosaic and material method of representing the mysterious impression. This scene is more frequently chosen for representation than any other in the life of Francis, and one or more examples of it are to be found in most Italian galleries.

Leaving aside pictures illustrating scenes from the Saint's life, we may classify those in which his figure occurs as follows :—

I. THOSE IN WHICH HE IS ASSOCIATED WITH CHRIST AND THE BLESSED VIRGIN

Those, for instance, where he is present at the Nativity, Crucifixion, or Assumption, or stands by the throne of the Mother and Child. Such pictures remind us of the special devotion of St. Francis to our Lord and His Mother, of his institution of the *Presepio*, and constant meditation on the Passion. Some examples, out of many, are as follows :—

ST. FRANCIS IN PICTURES OF : (I) THE ANNUNCIATION, AND (II) THE SPOSALIZIO

Bologna. Pin. Room E. 371. By Francesco Francia.

Florence. Acad. (Sala del B. Angelico.) By Neri di Bicci.

Bologna. Pin. E. 376. By Lorenzo Costa.

(III) THE NATIVITY

Bologna. Pin. E. 81. By Francesco Francia.

Padua. Pin. I. 166 and 168. By Bonifazio.

Rome. Doria Gallery, II. 165. By Ortolano.

(Cf. in sculpture, the Della Robbia relief at *Poppi*.)

(IV) FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

Florence. Uffizi. (Tribuna. 1118.) By Correggio.

(V) GETHSEMANE

Venice. Acad. 69. By Marco Basaiti.

(VI) THE CRUCIFIXION

Arezzo. Duomo (right aisle). Fresco of the Sienese School (circ. 1380).

Assisi. Upper Church. By Cimabue.

" Lower Church. By Pietro Lorenzetti.

" On the back of the Portiuncula. By Perugino.

Bologna. Pin. E. 373. By Francesco Francia.

Florence. San Marco. (Chapter-house.) By Fra Angelico.

" Sta. Croce. (Refectory.) By Taddeo Gaddi.

London. National Gallery. By Niccolò Alunno.

Perugia. Pin. (Sala del Perugino. 25.) By Perugino.

Rome. Vatican. Museum of Christian Antiquities (2nd case on left wall); III. Sienese School; (two lines from the "Dies Irae" painted above).
IX. Giottesque.

Terni. Pin. By Niccolò Alunno.

" " School of Lo Spagna.

Venice. Acad. 97. By Giovanni Mansueti.
(Cf. in sculpture, the Della Robbia altarpiece in the Chapel of the Stigmata at *La Verna*.)

A beautiful picture by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (in the Sienese Art Exhibition at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1904) shows St. Francis kneeling at the foot of the Cross. In some pictures he clasps it, or embraces the feet of Christ.

In several of the gigantic Crucifixes of Margaritone d'Arezzo, a small figure of St. Francis is introduced, e.g. in San Francesco, Arezzo; San Francesco, Montefalco; Pinacoteca (Room I), Perugia; Sant' Andrea, Spello.

In a small Crucifix by Fra Angelico (*Rome*, Corsini Gall., Room IX), SS. Francis and Antony are painted at the extremities of its arms.

(vii) DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS, OR PIETÀ

Bologna. Pin. A. 134. By Guido Reni.

Cortona. San Niccolò. By Luca Signorelli.

Parma. Pin. 169. By Annibale Carracci.

(VIII) CROSS-BEARING

A curious picture by Giovanni di Paolo, in the Pinacoteca, *Parma* (423), shows Christ amid a company of Saints all carrying crosses. Francis is among them (in the front row to the right).

A beautiful little picture by Crivelli, in the Museo Poldo Pezzoli at *Milan* (No. 620), shows the Saviour carrying the Cross and instruments of the Passion, while St. Francis, holding a chalice, kneels before Him.

(IX) ADORING THE LAMB

In a picture by Pordenone (*Venice*, Acad. 316), he kneels adoring the Lamb, which is held by St. John the Baptist.

(X) THE ASSUMPTION OR CORONATION OF THE MADONNA

Città di Castello. Pin. By Domenico Ghirlandaio.

Florence. Uffizi. 1309. By Lorenzo Monaco.

„ „ (Third Tuscan Room. 1290.)

By Fra Angelico.

„ San Marco. (Ninth cell to left of corridor.) By Fra Angelico.

Milan. Brera. Room F. 1. By Crivelli.

Narni. Palazzo Communale. By Domenico Ghirlandaio.

Rome. Vatican. Pin. Room III. By Pintoricchio.

Siena. Ist. di B.A. X. 441. By Bernardino Fungai. (Cf. in *sculpture*, the Della Robbia altarpiece at the Osservanza, *Siena*.)

(xi) WITH THE MADONNA AND CHILD

Of the countless pictures in which St. Francis is seen, alone or among other Saints, beside the throne, or at the feet of the Madonna and Child, the scantiest selection must suffice as examples here. It was a favourite theme of Angelico's and of Francia's, as will be seen. In some pictures, as e.g. the Titian "Madonna di Pesaro," a beautiful touch is introduced by the Babe turning to smile on St. Francis. In that by Domenichino at *Rome* (see below), the Virgin lays the Babe in his arms.

Assisi. Lower Church. By Cimabue.

Bologna. Pin. A. 360. By Niccolò Alunno.

" " A. 138. By Guido Reni.

" " B. 48. By Lodovico Caracci.

" " E. 78, 372, 499. By Francesco Francia.

" " E. 84 and 87. By Giacomo Francia.

*Castelfranco.*¹ By Giorgione.

Ferrara. Pin. Room VIII. By Garofalo.

¹ This I have not seen, but know from the Arundel Society's reproduction.

- Florence.* Acad. Sala del B. Angelico. 227 and
265. By Fra Angelico.
" Acad. Sala del Perugino. 55. By
Lippo Lippi.
" Acad. Sala del Botticelli. 88. By
Botticelli.
" Uffizi. Second Tuscan Room. 1112.
By Andrea del Sarto.
" Uffizi. 1305. By Domenico Veneziano.
- Milan.* Brera. II. 197 bis. By Luca Signorelli.
Montefalco. San Francesco. By Melanzio. (Right
wall of nave.)
- Parma.* Pin. IV. 165. By Guercino.
- Perugia.* Pin. VIII. 27. By Luca Signorelli.
" " V. 34. By Gozzoli. (A beautiful
small figure of St. Francis on the
frame.)
- " " XI. 7. Attributed to Lo Spagna.
- Rome.* Sta. Maria del Popolo. (Third chapel
to right.) By Pintoricchio.
" Vatican. Pin. "Madonna di Foligno."
By Raphael.
" " Room I. (near door). By
Titian.
" Sta. Maria della Vittoria. (Second chapel
to right.) By Domenichino.
Doria Gallery. 144. By Garofalo.

- Rome.* Corsini Gallery. Room IX. 709. By Lorenzo di San Severino. Also 2571. By Antoniazzo Romano.
- Siena.* Ist. di B.A. II. 128. By Taddeo di Bartolo.
- Spello.* Sant' Andrea. By Pintoricchio.
- Terni.* Pin.¹ A small panel by Benozzo Gozzoli.
- Venice.* Acad. 38. By Giovanni Bellini.
" " 37. By Paolo Veronese.
" " 607. By Alvise Vivarini.
" Frari. (Left aisle.) "Madonna di Pesaro." By Titian.
" Redentore. (Sacristy.) By (?) Bissolo ; popularly attributed to Giovanni Bellini.

II. THOSE IN WHICH HE IS ASSOCIATED WITH OTHER SAINTS

We often find St. Francis among other Saints in a *Santa Conversazione*—for instance, in that by Lippo Lippi in our National Gallery—where there seems no special reason for his presence. Sometimes he is introduced as one of the patron Saints of the city for which the picture was painted, as in one or two at *Bologna*; sometimes as the artist's own name-Saint, as with *Francia* (*Francesco*

¹ Removed thither from *San Francesco*.

Raibolini). But in many instances there is some special reason for his association with certain Saints. In the great "Crucifixion," at San Marco, *Florence*, St. Francis finds a place as Founder of an Order, side by side with SS. Benedict, Augustine, Bruno, and Gualberto.

(a) ST. BENEDICT

He is also placed with St. Benedict in a picture by Bernardino di Mariotto (*Pergia*, Pin. VII. 2). One recalls his associations with the Benedictines, to whom he owed the gift of St. Damian's and of the Portiuncula, and his pilgrimage to the Sacro Speco of St. Benedict at Subiaco. What Benedict was to the monasticism of Western Christianity, Francis was to its friars.

(b) ST. JEROME

When associated with St. Jerome, it is because both he and St. Francis were noted for their penance and self-mortification. Some examples are :—

Assisi. San Damiano. (Open chapel in fore-court.) Fresco by Tiberio d'Assisi.

Bologna. Pin. B. 48. By Lodovico Caracci.

" " E. 373. By Francesco Francia.

Ferrara. Pin. Room VIII. By Garofalo.

Milan. Brera. III. 206. By Moretto.

Siena. Ist. di B.A. X. 399. By Matteo di Giovanni.

„ „ X. 424. By Bernardino Fungai.

„ „ V. 269. By Sano di Pietro.

(Cf. in *sculpture*, the Della Robbia altarpiece at the Portiuncula.)

(c) ST. MICHAEL

St. Jerome and St. Michael are both associated with St. Francis by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo (*Perugia*, Pin. VIII. 3). This is explained by the special reverence felt by St. Francis for the Archangel as the bringer of souls to God;¹ and by the fact that the impression of the stigmata occurred just before Michaelmas. (For the St. Michael of the Sacro Speco, *Subiaco*, cf. p. 34.) St. Michael is placed with St. Francis in a picture of the school of Pacchiarotto (*Siena*, Ist. di B.A. X. 426), and Mrs. Jameson mentions one by Sano di Pietro in the same gallery in which he holds a flaming Seraph in his hand. In a La Verna scene by Taddeo di Bartolo (*Perugia*, Pin. IV. 22), a small figure of the Archangel stands on a rock behind

¹ Bon., ix. 3.

him. Thode¹ suggests that this association may also refer to the widespread belief that the Angel of Rev. vii. 2, "the angel ascending from the sunrising, having the seal of the Living God," was none other than Francis—a belief constantly alluded to in Franciscan literature, although never, so far as I know, illustrated in art.

In the famous "Disputa sulla Trinità" of Andrea del Sarto (*Florence*, Pitti. 172), each Saint represents a different mode of apprehending the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. St. Augustine (in the centre) expounds it, St. Dominic stands for intellect, St. Francis for love.

The Saints of his own Order are, naturally, more often grouped with St. Francis than any others. (Cf. chaps. x. and xi.) For his association with St. Dominic, cf. chap. vii.

(d) THE BLESSED IN PARADISE

In almost any group of the Blessed in Paradise, the figure of St. Francis may be distinguished, e.g.:—

Florence. Sta. Maria Novella. (Strozzi Chapel.)

By Orcagna.

" Acad. (Sala del B. Angelico.) By Angelico.

" Uffizi. 1290. By Angelico.

¹ *Franz von Assisi*, p. 517.

Padua. Arena Chapel (over door). By Giotto.

Rome. Corsini Gallery,¹ IX. 723. By Fra Angelico.

Venice. Ducal Palace. The “Paradiso.” By Tintoretto (to the extreme left).

III. THOSE IN WHICH HE APPEARS AS PATRON OR INTERCESSOR

Here St. Francis presents kneeling penitents—often members of his own Third Order, or of some Confraternity—to Christ or the Madonna, or himself kneels in intercession for some city or persons. Pictures of this class were often painted as *gonfaloni*, *i.e.* banners to be carried in procession in times of plague, etc.

Assisi. Over a door next to San Lorenzo; fresco signed “Chola Pictor.” St. Francis presents a kneeling confraternity to the Madonna.

Assisi. Lower Church. (Chapel of the Sacrament.) St. Francis presents to Christ the kneeling Cardinal Napoleone Orsini. By some follower of Giotto (cf. p. 147).

Bologna. Pin. A. 138. By Guido Reni. Madonna succours the city of Bologna at the intercession of St. Francis and its other protectors.

¹ In this and similar pictures, Fra Angelico shows an impartial candour in consigning unworthy Dominicans and Franciscans alike to the Inferno.

Padua. "Il Santo." (Lunette over tomb near door leading to cloisters.) Of the school of Altichieri. St. Francis and St. Antony present a kneeling knight to the Madonna.

Perugia. Pin. VI. 19. By Boccatis da Camerino. St. Francis and St. Dominic present to the Madonna members of a guild, who wear hoods, and white robes with an opening at the back for flagellation.

Perugia. Pin. XI. 14. By Perugino. St. Francis and St. Bernardino kneel in prayer on behalf of the city of Perugia; her towers, and a group of penitents, are seen in the background.

Perugia. Pin. XIII. 22. By Orsini Carota di Assisi. St. Francis surrounded by a kneeling confraternity.

Venice. Ducal Palace. (Sala del Collegio, wall opposite window.) St. Francis stands as patron (name-Saint) behind the kneeling Doge Francesco Donato. By Tintoretto.

Verona. San Bernardino. Refectory (end wall). St. Francis presents to the Madonna the first Franciscan martyrs. By the two Moroni.

In this connection, mention must be made of a mosaic of the year 1228, now in the private chapel of the Palazzo Colonna at *Rome*, where I was courteously permitted to see it. It was removed thither in 1652 from its original position in the Franciscan Convent of the Ara Celi. It is a long,



SS. FRANCIS AND BERNARDINO INTERCEDING FOR
THE CITY OF PERUGIA

PERUGINO
Pinacoteca, Perugia

To face p. 64

narrow panel over the door of the chapel. To the left is a half-length figure of St. Francis (a youthful type, with dark eyes and hair, no beard; with a halo, and the stigmata), who presents to the Madonna a small figure inscribed DÑS JOHS DE COLUMNA. St. John (the name-Saint of the noble) stands between them.¹

IV. THOSE IN WHICH HE APPEARS UNDER SOME ALLEGORICAL ASPECT

(a) AS THE SOLDIER OF CHRIST

This aspect is directly derived from the "Legends," where the Saint is frequently so described. It has reference also to the early vision, which he understood as a prophecy of his future military glory. In a miniature relief in "Il Santo," *Padua* (passage leading to sacristy), SS. Francis and Antony are represented as shield-bearers. The former has the arms of the Order upon his shield, the latter a Cross.

Where Francis carries a banner, as in Giotto's "Glory of St. Francis" (*Assisi, Lower Church*), it is in special allusion to our Lord's words to him : *Tu sei il mio gonfaloniere*—Thou art My standard-bearer.²

¹ The mosaic is mentioned by a correspondent in Appendix II of R. Bonghi's *San Francesco d'Assisi*, p. 100.

² *The Little Flowers*, p. 220.

(b) AS THE SPOUSE OF THE LADY POVERTY, OR
SURROUNDED BY THE FRANCISCAN VIRTUES

The *locus classicus* for symbolical representations of the Franciscan virtues—Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience—is, of course, the vaulting over the High Altar in the Lower Church, *Assisi*, covered by Giotto's allegories. These are described in chap. ix. pp. 150-7.

Only second in interest to the above, though less widely known, is the altarpiece painted by Sassetta for San Francesco at *Borgo San Sepolcro*. Its nine panels are now divided among private collections, some belonging to Mr. Berenson, who has written a detailed and suggestive description of the whole picture.¹ Two of the panels are allegorical; one is the best illustration of Bonaventura's story of the meeting of the Saint with three maidens, who greeted him with the words, "Welcome, Lady Poverty!" and then vanished.²

I have only seen one other picture of this story, that in the Vatican (Museum of Christian Antiquities). Here too St. Francis (who, by an anachronism, has the stigmata) puts a ring on the finger of one

¹ "A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend," *Burlington Magazine*, September–October, 1903. I know the picture through these reproductions only.

² Bon., vii. 6.

of the three maidens. But the figures are wooden, and the treatment materialistic compared to Sassetta's. Thode assigns it to Ottaviano Nelli, or a follower of his.

The other allegorical panel represents the "Triumph of St. Francis." The three Virtues hover over his head, and his feet are set upon a crowned knight in armour, with a lion, (Strife or Violence), a nun in black, with a money-bag and coining-press,¹ (Avarice), and a woman leaning on a black pig, and regarding herself in a mirror, (Sensuality); each Vice being grouped below the Virtue opposed to it.

[For the remaining panels, cf. pp. 105-8.]

There is a somewhat similar picture by Taddeo di Bartolo in the Pinacoteca, *Perugia* (IV. 5). In its centre compartment we see the Saint trampling on three prostrate figures, one in red, with a sword, (Envy or Strife), one in blue, with a small gold circlet, (Ambition), one—a nun—in black and white, with a money-bag, (Avarice). The expression of St. Francis is pensive and sweet, as it is also in the Sassetta.

The "Glory of St. Francis," and the Three Virtues, represented by symbolical figures, are painted by Giotto on the vaulting of the Bardi Chapel in *Sta. Croce, Florence*.

¹ Some writers have curiously seen in this figure Heresy, with the printing-press.

(c) AS VICTOR OVER DEATH (OR, PERHAPS, PREACHER OF THE VANITY OF LIFE)

It will be remembered how St. Francis, so far from fearing death, met it with singing, and greeted it as "our sister, the death of the body." After his death, many miracles were recounted of people raised from the dead through his prayers. Both these facts probably suggested the paintings in which he points to a skeleton, as in the Lower Church, *Assisi* (wall behind High Altar), and in the Chapter-house of "Il Santo," *Padua*. This latter fresco is much damaged; it is probably by Giotto, though Thode ascribes it to Altichieri and Avanzo.¹

Such representations of Triumph over Death are the answer to the Triumph of Death, so often forcibly depicted—as, for example, in the Campo Santo at *Pisa*, and in the comparatively unknown fresco at *Subiaco*. Apropos of the latter, Signor Hermanin² has pointed out how strongly the medieval mind was prepossessed by the idea of death, largely owing to the frequent visitations of plague.

(d) THE "ARBOR VITÆ"³ ALLEGORY

This is a development of the Crucifixion scene, in which the Cross becomes a fruit-bearing Tree,

¹ Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 559.

² *Le pitture dei monasteri Sublacensi*, pp. 106–11.

³ Sometimes incorrectly identified with the "Jesse Tree."

its boughs laden with circles, in each of which is the name, or half-length figure, of some holy person—Prophet, King, or Apostle—holding a scroll, while Saints are grouped at the foot. The image is, of course, taken from Revelation xxii. 2, “The tree of life, which bare twelve manner of fruits.” The subject had been mystically treated in the *Lignum Vitæ* of St. Bonaventura (cf. the *Arbor Vitæ Crucifixæ* of the Franciscan mystic, Ubertino da Casale, published in 1305), and is accordingly most often found in Franciscan pictures; but other Saints than those of the Order are frequently introduced.

Two fine examples of the “*Arbor Vitæ*” are by Taddeo Gaddi at Sta. Croce, *Florence* (Refectory, end wall), and by Antonio Vite at San Francesco-al-Prato, *Pistoia* (Chapter-house, wall facing windows). Others are—

*Florence.*¹ Acad. I. 10. Giottesque.

Padua. “Il Santo” (pillar to right of choir). By Montagnana.

¹ Mentioned by Thode, p. 547.

CHAPTER V

The Legend of St. Francis in Italian Art (Part I)—A list of representations—By Giotto in the Upper Church

THE best known series of scenes from the life of St. Francis may be classified, more or less chronologically, as follows :—

I. *Assisi.* Lower Church. Nave. By (?) Giunta Pisano.

II. *Assisi.* Lower Church. Sacristy. Small scenes round the portrait. By Giunta Pisano.

III. *Pescia.* San Francesco. Ditto. By Berlinghieri.

IV. *Florence.* Sta. Croce. Bardi Chapel. Ditto. By (?) Margaritone.

V. *Rome.* Vatican. Christian Museum. Ditto. By (?) Giunta Pisano.

VI. *Pistoia.* San Francesco. Ditto. By (?) Margaritone.

VII. *Assisi.* Upper and Lower Church. Stained glass.

VIII. *Assisi.* Upper Church. Nave. By Giotto and pupils.

IX. *Florence.*, Sta. Croce. Bardi Chapel. By Giotto.

X. *Florence.* Sta. Croce. Cloister frescoes.

XI. *Venice.* Acad. (Room I). By Semitecolo.

XII. *Florence.* Acad. (Room I). By Taddeo Gaddi.

XIII. *Rome.* Vatican. Christian Museum. Sienese School.

XIV. *Pistoia.* San Francesco. Choir and Chapter-house. By Puccio Capanna and Antonio Vite.

XV. Altarpiece by Sassetta, originally painted for *Borgo San Sepolcro*, now divided among private collections.

XVI. *Florence.* Sta. Trinita. Sassetti Chapel. By Ghirlandaio.

XVII. *Montefalco.* San Francesco. Choir. By Benozzo Gozzoli.

XVIII. *Assisi.* San Francesco. Big Cloister. By Adone Doni.

XIX. *Verona.* San Bernardino. By Giolfino.

XX. (*In sculpture*). On the pulpit of Sta. Croce. By Benedetto da Maiano (cf. p. 200).

The most famous, interesting, and complete of these series is, of course, that by Giotto in the Upper Church, *Assisi*, which served as a model for subsequent representations. Though not chronologically the first, I shall describe these frescoes first, as a knowledge of the stories which they illustrate will prove useful in considering any of these series. Giotto closely follows Bonaventura's *Life of St. Francis*, and his frescoes are sufficiently explained by quoting the passages illustrated; quotations are made from my translation in the "Temple Classics." Many of the stories, of course, were taken by Bonaventura from the earlier "Lives" by Thomas of Celano and the "Three Companions," but as these were formally suppressed in 1263, when his own official "Life" appeared, reference is made to that as the text undoubtedly used by Giotto. The author of *The Story of Assisi* has pointed out Giotto's indebtedness to the early biographers, who, "seeing, perhaps unconsciously, the extraordinary poetry and the dramatic incidents in the Saint's career, had faithfully recorded them in simple and beautiful language." And the masterly way in which Giotto used the material thus furnished entitles him to be considered, in Mr. Fry's words, "the greatest story-teller in line, the supreme epic-painter of the world."¹

This series was probably painted either just

¹ "Giotto," I, p. 151.

before¹ or just after² 1300. Most critics are agreed that some part of the work is not Giotto's own,³ but was probably executed by pupils from his designs. The last few scenes are obviously by a different hand; long and thin figures take the place of Giotto's massive types, the architecture becomes fantastic, and two incidents are in some cases represented in one panel. This unknown artist merits praise for poetic feeling and grace rather than for his grouping or accurate drawing. In some of the scenes that are in all probability by Giotto himself, there is something tentative, evidences of a style still in the making, and open to outside influences, but, judged as a whole, the compositions are admirable. They run all round the nave (lower part of the wall), and the story is unfolded as in a book, beginning on the left, from the High Altar.⁴

I. St. Francis honoured by the Simpleton

A certain citizen of Assisi, a simpleton as was believed, yet one taught of God, whensoever he met Francis going

¹ "Giotto," I. p. 141, and Sir Martin Conway, *Early Tuscan Art*, p. 102.

² C. and C., vol. ii. p. 14, note i.

³ Thode, however, is an exception.

⁴ These frescoes have been described over and over again, e.g. by Lord Lindsay, Thode, C. and C., Sir Martin Conway, in the *Story of Assisi*, and *The Umbrian Towns*, etc.

through the city, would doff his cloak and spread the garment before his feet, declaring that Francis was worthy of all honour, as one that should ere long do mighty deeds, and was on this account to be splendidly honoured by all the faithful.

The Temple of Minerva, still to be seen at Assisi, is painted in the background ; Giotto has given it some Gothic ornamentation.

II. and III. *St. Francis bestows his garments on a poor Knight.
Vision of the Palace*

Now when he had . . . made ready for himself in his wonted fashion meet apparel, he met a certain soldier, of noble birth, but poor and ill-clad ; whereupon, compassionating his poverty, with a kindly impulse he forthwith did off his garments and put them on him, thus in one act fulfilling a twofold ministry of kindliness, insomuch as he both covered the shame of a noble knight, and relieved the destitution of a poor man.

Now on the night following, when he had yielded himself unto sleep, the divine mercy showed him a fair and great palace, together with military accoutrements adorned with the sign of the Cross of Christ, thus setting forth unto him that the mercy he had shown unto the poor soldier for the love of the King Most High was to be recompensed by this peerless reward. Accordingly, when he enquired whose were these things, answer was made him by a divine declaration that they all were his own and his soldiers'.

The sleeping figure of Francis in the right-hand of these two scenes does not lie easily and naturally ;

in fact, Ruskin¹ has pointed out that "Giotto never succeeded, to the end of his days, in representing a figure lying down."

The palace is much too solid and earthly to give the idea of a *vision*. Sassetta's conception of the palace floating in the air is, as Mr. Berenson² has shown, more imaginative.

IV. *St. Francis before the Crucifix of St. Damian's*

On a certain day, when he had gone forth to meditate in the fields, he was walking nigh the church of Saint Damian, which from its exceeding great age was threatening to fall, and, at the prompting of the Spirit, went within to pray. Prostrating himself before an Image of the Crucified, he was filled with no small consolation of spirit as he prayed. And as with eyes full of tears he gazed upon the Lord's Cross, he heard with his bodily ears a Voice proceeding from that Cross, saying thrice : "Francis, go and repair My House, which, as thou seest, is falling utterly into ruin." Francis trembled, being alone in the church, and was astonished at the sound of such a wondrous Voice, and, perceiving in his heart the might of the divine speech, was carried out of himself in ecstasy.

This fresco is unfortunately much damaged, but, in spite of it, is one of the most beautiful of the series. There is nothing to withdraw the eye from the figure of the young Saint, kneeling in

¹ *Mornings in Florence* : iii., "Before the Soldan."

² "A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend" : *Burlington Magazine*, September, 1903.

earnest devotion. The church is painted as though already in ruins.

This scene is closely copied in the series at San Francesco-al-Prato, *Pistoia* (cf. p. 103).

V. *The Renunciation*

Now this father according unto the flesh was fain to take this son of grace, now stripped of his wealth, before the Bishop of the city, that into his hands he might resign his claim unto his father's inheritance, and render up all that had been his. This that true lover of poverty showed himself right ready to do, and coming into the Bishop's presence, he brooked no delays, he was kept back of none, tarried for no speech, nor spake himself, but at once did off all his garments, and restored them unto his father. Then was the man of God seen to have a hairshirt next his skin under his rich apparel. Yea more, as one drunk with wondrous fervour of spirit, he threw aside even his breeches, and stood up naked in the presence of all, saying unto his father : "Hitherto I have called thee my father on earth, but henceforth I can confidently say 'Our Father, Which art in heaven,' with Whom I have laid up my whole treasure, and on Whom I have set my whole trust and hope." The Bishop, seeing this, and marvelling at such exceeding fervour in the man of God, rose forthwith, and, weeping, put his arms round him ; then, devout and kindly man as he was, covered him with the cloak wherewith he himself was clad, bidding his servants give him something to clothe his limbs withal, and there was brought unto him a mean and rough tunic of a farm-servant of the Bishop.



ST. FRANCIS RENOUNCING THE WORLD

GIOTTO
Upper Church, Assisi

To face p. 76

This dramatic scene evidently stimulated Giotto's imagination ; nothing can be more excellent than the varying attitudes and gestures of the actors in it. The figure of Francis, however, with its square body, and ugly legs and arms, leaves a good deal to be desired. In answer to his prayer, the divine Hand appears in the sky.

The Renunciation took place in the Piazza Sta. Maria Maggiore, just outside the bishop's palace.

This is the actual or real counterpart of the mystic representation, "The Marriage with Poverty," in the Lower Church.

VI. *Dream of Pope Innocent III*

In a dream he (the Pope) saw, as he recounted, the Lateran Basilica about to fall, when a little poor man, of mean stature and humble aspect, propped it with his own back, and thus saved it from falling. "Verily," saith he, "he it is that by his work and teaching shall sustain the Church of Christ." From this vision, he was filled with an especial devotion unto him, and in all ways disposed himself unto his supplication, and ever loved the servant of Christ with an especial affection.

This vision is said to have been one of the causes of the Pope's favourable reception of St. Francis when he first sought his presence in Rome in 1210. In Dominican pictures, St. Dominic is generally shown also lending his support to the Church (cf. p. 129).

Giotto repeated this and the succeeding scene in the *predella* of his "St. Francis" in the Louvre.

One may get a suggestion of what the Lateran must have looked like in Francis's time from its red-brick Gothic back that is still to be seen from the cloisters, the façade being now of the Renaissance.

VII. *Sanction of the Rule by Innocent*

Now when he had come unto the Roman Curia, and had been introduced into the presence of the Supreme Pontiff, he expounded unto him his intent, humbly and earnestly beseeching him to sanction the Rule aforesaid for their life. And the Vicar of Christ, the lord Innocent the Third, a man exceeding renowned for wisdom, beholding in the man of God the wondrous purity of a simple soul, constancy unto his purpose, and the enkindled fervour of a holy will, was disposed to give unto the suppliant his fatherly sanction. . . . He sanctioned the Rule, and gave him a command to preach repentance.

This scene follows naturally on the preceding one. The characteristics of the two central figures, the great Pope and the simple Umbrian preacher, are admirably conceived and rendered.

VIII. *Vision of the Chariot of Fire*

Now while the Brethren were abiding in the place aforesaid (i.e. Rivo-Torto), the holy man one Saturday entered the city of Assisi, to preach early on the Sunday, as was his wont, in the Cathedral Church. While the man devoted

unto God was passing the night, after his wonted manner, in a hut within the Canons' garden, praying unto God, and absent in the body from his sons,—lo, about midnight, while some of the Brethren were taking rest, others keeping vigil in prayer, a chariot of fire of marvellous brightness, entering by the door of the house, turned thrice hither and thither through the dwelling, and over the chariot a shining ball of fire rested, in appearance like unto the sun, making the night radiant. The watchful Brethren were astounded, they that slept were awakened and alarmed at the same moment, . . . all understood alike . . . that their holy Father was absent from them in body, but present in spirit.

Here, again, Giotto fails to give a visionary air to the very substantial chariot and horses, and the figure of the Saint is also heavy.

IX. *Vision of Brother Pacifico*

He (Pacifico) had been in the company of the man of God, and, together with him, had been praying with fervour of spirit in a certain deserted church, when, falling into an ecstasy, he beheld among many seats in heaven one that was more honourable than the rest, adorned with precious stones, and shining with utmost splendour. Marvelling within himself at the splendour of this exalted throne, he began to consider with anxious thought who should be deemed worthy to sit thereon. Then, as he considered, he heard a voice saying unto him : “ This seat pertained unto one of the fallen Angels, and is now kept for the humble Francis.”

The same criticism as in the last scene applies to the heavenly thrones in this, at which Pacifico points with such *naïf* and determined enquiry. But St. Francis's absorbed intentness in prayer, in both this and the following fresco, is very fine.

X. *Devils Driven from Arezzo*

It befell once that he came unto Arezzo at a time when the whole city was shaken by a civil war that threatened its speedy ruin. As he was lodging in the outskirts of the city, he beheld the demons exulting above it, and inflaming the angry citizens unto mutual slaughter. Then, that he might put to flight those powers of the air that were stirring up the strife, he sent forward as his herald Brother Silvester, a man of dovelike simplicity, saying : " Go out before the city gate, and, on behalf of God Almighty, command the demons in the power of obedience to depart with all speed." The Brother, in his true obedience, hastened to perform his Father's behests, and . . . began to cry with a loud voice before the city gate : " On behalf of God Almighty, and at the bidding of His servant Francis, depart far from hence, all ye demons ! " At once the city was restored unto a state of peace, and all the citizens peacefully and quietly began to fashion anew their civil laws.

The medieval painter or sculptor revelled in scenes where demons might be introduced, and showed a fertile imagination in devising them. Giotto was no exception, and he enjoyed, too, designing this little closed-packed, walled town, and

the beautiful church (suggested by San Francesco at Assisi) outside its gates. But the chief artistic triumph of the fresco is the freedom and power with which Silvester's commanding attitude is rendered.

XI. *Before the Soldan*

As the Soldan beheld the marvellous fervour of spirit and valour of the man of God, he heard him gladly, and did right earnestly invite him to tarry with him. Then the servant of Christ, taught by the heavenly counsel, said : " If thou, together with thy people, wilt be converted unto Christ, for the love of Him I will right gladly tarry among you. But if thou art hesitating whether to give up the law of Mahomet for the faith of Christ, do thou command that a great fire be kindled and I will enter the fire with thy priests, that even thus thou mayest learn which faith is the surer, and holier, and most worthy of being held." Unto whom the Soldan made answer : " I do not believe that any of my priests would be ready to expose himself unto the fire in defence of his faith, or to undergo any sort of torture." For he had seen that, so soon as mention of this was made, one of his priests, an aged man and one in authority, had fled from his presence. Unto whom the holy man replied : " If thou wilt promise me, on behalf of thyself and thy people, that thou wilt embrace the faith of Christ, if I come forth from the fire unscathed, I will enter the fire alone ; if I am burned, let it be set down unto my sins, but if the divine might protect me, ye shall know that Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God, is the true God and the Lord and Saviour of all." Howbeit, the Soldan replied that he dare not accede unto this proposition, for that he feared a revolt of his people.

A dramatic legend of the Saint's missionary visit to the East.

To the right of the Soldan, who is a very impressive figure, stands an attendant, dressed like a Roman soldier. The Brother accompanying St. Francis is Illuminato.

It has been pointed out that Giotto was wisely contented with a merely conventional representation of fire; any other would have become too much the central feature of the scene.

XII. *St. Francis in ecstasy*

. . . He was beheld praying by night, his hands stretched out after the manner of a Cross, his whole body uplifted from the earth, and wrapt in a shining cloud, as though the wondrous illumination of the body were a witness unto the wondrous enlightenment of his mind.

This fresco, I imagine, is meant to illustrate the above passage of Bonaventura, although that does not refer to any one special instance of the Saint being rapt. We are reminded of what the *Fioretti* tells us of Brother Leo—how “for his purity’s sake he merited to see St. Francis full many and many a time rapt in God, and uplifted from the earth,” and how he would then go “softly to him and embrace his feet.”

XIII. *The Presepio at Greccio*

Now three years before his death it befell that he was minded, at the town of Greccio, to celebrate the memory of the Birth of the Child Jesus, with all the added solemnity that he might, for the kindling of devotion. That this might not seem an innovation, he sought and obtained license from the Supreme Pontiff, and then made ready a manger, and bade hay, together with an ox and an ass, be brought unto the spot. The Brethren were called together, the folk assembled, the wood echoed with their voices, and that august night was made radiant and solemn with many bright lights, and with tuneful and sonorous praises. The man of God, filled with tender love, stood before the manger, bathed in tears, and overflowing with joy. Solemn Masses were celebrated over the manger, Francis, the Levite of Christ, chanting the Holy Gospel. Then he preached unto the folk standing round of the Birth of the King in poverty, calling Him, when he wished to name Him, the Child of Bethlehem, by reason of his tender love for Him. A certain knight, valorous and true, Messer John of Greccio, who for the love of Christ had left the secular army, and was bound by closest friendship unto the man of God, declared that he beheld a little Child right fair to see sleeping in that manger, Who seemed to be awakened from sleep when the blessed Father Francis embraced Him in both arms.

This is one of the most charming incidents in the life of Francis, and Giotto has well caught its spirit,—the devout enthusiasm of those assembled in the little church, and the “tender love” of the

master of the simple ceremony. Francis here wears the vestments of a deacon (cf. p. 49).

We are reminded of the Christmas hymn of the Franciscan poet, Jacopone da Todi, the glad “*Stabat Mater*” of the Nativity that makes a companion poem to the sorrowful “*Stabat Mater*” of the Passion.

XIV. *Miracle of the Spring of Water*

On another time, when the man of God was fain to betake him unto a certain solitude, where he might more freely give himself up unto contemplation, he rode, being weak in body, upon the ass of a poor man. While this man was following the servant of Christ in the summer heat, and up mountain ways, he became worn out by the journey, as the path grew ever rougher and longer, and, fainting with exceeding and burning thirst, he began to cry aloud with importunity after the Saint : “Lo ! (saith he), I shall die of thirst, if I be not at once refreshed by the help of some draught !” Without delay, the man of God got off the ass, fell on his knees, and, raising his hands unto heaven, ceased not to pray until he knew that he had been heard. His prayer at length ended, he said unto the man : “Hasten unto yonder rock, and there thou shalt find a spring of water, that Christ in His mercy hath at this hour caused to flow from the rock for thee to drink.”

The lifelike effect of the thirsty man stooping over to drink was signalled out by Vasari for special praise.



THE SERMON TO THE BIRDS

Giotto
Upper Church, Assisi

To face p. 85

XV. The Sermon to the Birds

When he drew nigh unto Bevagna he came unto a spot wherein a great multitude of birds of divers species were gathered together. When the holy man of God perceived them, he ran with all speed unto the place and greeted them as if they shared in human understanding. They on their part all awaited him and turned toward him, those that were perched on bushes bending their heads as he drew nigh them, and looking on him in unwonted wise, while he came right among them, and diligently exhorted them all to hear the word of God, saying : " My brothers the birds, much ought ye to praise your Creator, Who hath clothed you with feathers and given you wings to fly, and hath made over unto you the pure air, and careth for you without your taking thought for yourselves." While he was speaking unto them these and other like words, the little birds—behaving themselves in wondrous wise—began to stretch their necks, to spread their wings, to open their beaks, and to look intently on him. He, with wondrous fervour of spirit, passed in and out among them, touching them with his habit, nor did one of them move from the spot until he had made the sign of the Cross over them and given them leave ; then, with the blessing of the man of God, they all flew away together. All these things were witnessed by his companions that stood awaiting him by the way. Returning unto them, the simple and holy man began to blame himself for neglect in that he had not afore then preached unto the birds.

Earlier frescoes of the series have shown us St. Francis brought into contact with a mighty Pope and an Oriental despot, but nowhere do we see him

in more beautiful relation than that which he bears here to his "little brothers the birds"; nowhere do we see more of the true character of the Saint, that has rendered him so universally beloved. The scene is conceived with the utmost simplicity, and is in itself a lyric. Giotto did a small replica of it on the *predella* of his "St. Francis" in the Louvre.

XVI. *Death of the Knight of Celano*

At another time, when he had come unto Celano to preach, a certain Knight with humble devoutness and great importunity invited him to dine with him. He came accordingly unto the house of the Knight, and the whole household rejoiced over the coming of their poor guests. Before they partook of the meal, Francis, as he was wont, stood with eyes uplift to heaven, with a devout mind offering unto God prayers and praises. His prayer ended, he called aside his kindly host in familiar wise, and thus addressed him : "Lo, my brother and host, yielding unto thine importunity I have come unto thy house to eat. Do thou now yield speedily unto my exhortations, forasmuch as thou shalt eat not here, but elsewhere. Confess now thy sins, and be contrite with the grief of a true repentance, nor let aught abide in thee that thou dost not lay bare in sincere confession. The Lord will reward thee this day for that thou hast received His poor with such devoutness." The Knight yielded forthwith unto the words of the holy man, unto whose companion he disclosed all his sins in confession, and then set his house in order, and prepared himself, in so far as he might, for death. At length they sat down to table, and, while the rest were beginning to eat, the host on a

sudden gave up the ghost, carried off by a sudden death according unto the word of the man of God.

Giotto here makes us fully realize the suddenness of the catastrophe that has befallen the pious Knight, and share the grief and consternation of the bystanders.

XVII. *St. Francis preaching before Pope Honorius III*

On a time, when he was about to preach in the presence of the Pope and the Cardinals, at the suggestion of the lord Bishop of Ostia he had committed unto memory a certain carefully prepared sermon, and, standing in the midst to set forth the words of edification, found that he had so utterly forgotten it all as that he knew not how to speak a word thereof. When with fruitful humility he had confessed this, he set himself to invoke the grace of the Holy Spirit, and forthwith began to pour forth words so mighty in effect, and of such wondrous power to move the minds of those illustrious men unto repentance, as that it was manifestly seen that it was not himself that spake, but the Spirit of the Lord.

This fresco has one of the most beautiful architectural settings of the whole series, and the attitude and expressions of both the preacher and his hearers are finely imagined and depicted.

XVIII. *The Chapter at Arles*

In the provincial Chapters, albeit Francis could not there show himself present in the body, yet in spirit . . . he was present there; yea, and once, by the operation of God's

marvellous power, he did visibly appear. For while that glorious preacher, who is now a noted Confessor of Christ, Antony, was preaching unto the Chapter of the Brethren at Arles on the title inscribed on the Cross: "Jesus of Nazareth, the King of the Jews," a certain Brother of proved uprightness, Monaldo by name, looking, by a divine impulse, toward the door of the Chapter-house, beheld with his bodily eyes the Blessed Francis uplifted in the air, his hands outstretched after the manner of a Cross, blessing the Brethren.

XIX. *Reception of the Stigmata*

When, therefore, by seraphic glow of longing he had been uplifted toward God, and by his sweet compassion had been transformed into the likeness of Him who of His exceeding love endured to be crucified,—on a certain morning about the Feast of the Exaltation of Holy Cross, while he was praying on the side of the mountain, he beheld a Seraph having six wings, flaming and resplendent, coming down from the heights of heaven. When in his flight most swift he had reached the space of air nigh the man of God, there appeared betwixt the wings the Figure of a Man crucified, having his hands and feet stretched forth in the shape of a Cross, and fastened unto a Cross. Two wings were raised above his head, twain were spread forth to fly, while twain hid his whole body. Beholding this, Francis was mightily astonished, and joy, mingled with sorrow, filled his heart. He rejoiced at the gracious aspect wherewith he saw Christ, under the guise of the Seraph, regard him, but His crucifixion pierced his soul, with a sword of pitying grief. He marvelled exceedingly at the appearance of a vision so unfathomable, knowing that the infirmity of the Passion doth in no wise accord with the

immortality of a Seraphic spirit. At length he understood therefrom, the Lord revealing it unto him, that this vision had been thus presented unto his gaze by the divine providence, that the friend of Christ might have foreknowledge that he was to be wholly transformed into the likeness of Christ Crucified, not by martyrdom of body, but by enkindling of heart. Accordingly, as the vision disappeared, it left in his heart a wondrous glow, but on his flesh also it imprinted a no less wondrous likeness of its tokens. For forthwith there began to appear in his hands and feet the marks of the nails, even as he had just beheld them in that Figure of the Crucified.

This fresco is unfortunately much damaged, but can never have been so impressive as some of the other familiar representations of the La Verna mystery. It scarcely looks like Giotto's own work, and the remaining scenes from this point are, as we have seen, almost certainly by some follower of his.

XX. Death of St. Francis

At length, when all the mysteries had been fulfilled in him, and his most holy spirit was freed from the flesh, and absorbed into the boundless depths of the divine glory, the blessed man fell on sleep in the Lord. . . . Now the holy Father departed from the shipwreck of this world in the year 1226 of the Lord's Incarnation, on the fourth day of October, at late even of a Saturday, and on the Sunday he was buried.

This fresco is also in such a damaged condition that it is impossible to distinguish much of the scene.

XXI. St. Francis appears to (a) Brother Augustine and (b) the Bishop of Assisi

A Brother named Augustine, who was then Minister of the Brethren in Terra di Lavoro, an holy and upright man, having come unto his last hour, and some time previously having lost the power of speech, in the hearing of them that stood by, did on a sudden cry out and say : "Tarry for me, Father, tarry for me, lo, even now I am coming with thee!" When the Brethren asked and marvelled much unto whom he thus boldly spake, he made answer : "Did ye not see our Father, Francis, who goeth unto heaven"? And forthwith his holy soul, departing from the body, followed the most holy Father.

The Bishop of Assisi at that time had gone on pilgrimage unto the Oratory of Saint Michael on Monte Gargano, and unto him the blessed Francis, appearing on the night of his departure, said : "Behold, I leave the world and go unto heaven."

The two scenes are represented in one panel. The dying Brother and the sleeping Bishop are shown, but no apparition of the Saint.

XXII. A Doubter Convinced

Now very many of the citizens of Assisi were admitted to behold and to kiss those sacred stigmata. And one among them, a learned and wise knight, Jerome by name, a man illustrious and renowned, having had doubts concerning these sacred tokens, and having been an unbeliever like Thomas,—did very eagerly and boldly, in the presence of the Brethren and of the other citizens, move the nails, and

touch with his own hands the hands, feet, and side of the Saint ; and thus it befell that, while touching those authentic marks of the wounds of Christ, he cut away every wound of unbelief from his own heart and the hearts of all.

This fresco is overcrowded with figures. The Crucifix and other images seen above in perspective are supposed to be on a rood-loft.

The incident of the incredulous Jerome is usually introduced in representations of this scene (cf. pp. 98, 100, 110).

XXIII. *The Sisters at St. Damian's mourn over the body of the Saint*

When morning came, the crowds that had come together, carrying branches of trees and many wax lights, brought the holy body unto the city of Assisi, with hymns and chants. Moreover, they passed by the Church of Saint Damian, where at that time that noble virgin Clare, now glorified in heaven, abode cloistered with her Sisters ; and there for a space they stayed, and set down the holy body, adorned with those heavenly pearls (*i.e.* the stigmata), that it might be seen and embraced by those holy virgins.

This touching incident has been sympathetically rendered by the artist ; the figures of the Sisters are very graceful, and the façade—most unlike that of the real St. Damian's—anticipates, as Thode has pointed out, the Cathedrals of Siena and Orvieto.¹

¹ *Franz von Assisi*, p. 266.

XXIV. Canonization of St. Francis.

And he (the Pope) came in person unto the city of Assisi in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1228, on the sixteenth day of July, a Sunday, and with rites exceeding solemn, that it would take long to narrate, he enrolled the blessed Father in the list of the Saints.

Now in the year of the Lord 1230, the Brethren assembled for a Chapter-General that was held at Assisi, and his body consecrated unto the Lord was translated unto the Church built in his honour on the twenty-fifth day of May.

This fresco has also suffered terribly from damp.

XXV. Dream of Pope Gregory IX

The lord Pope Gregory the Ninth, of blessed memory, . . . before that he enrolled in the catalogue of Saints this standard-bearer of the Cross, felt some particles of doubt in his mind concerning the wound in the side. Then one night,—as that holy Bishop would relate with tears,—the Blessed Francis appeared unto him in a dream, showing a stern countenance, and, blaming him for the doubts of his heart, raised his right arm, revealed the wound, and demanded of him a phial to receive the blood that welled up and flowed from his side. In his dream, the Supreme Pontiff proffered him the phial that he sought, and it appeared to be filled, even unto the brim, with the blood from his side.

This and the following frescoes illustrate miracles worked by St. Francis after death ; the stories are

taken from Bonaventura, who devoted several chapters to them at the conclusion of his *Life of St. Francis.*

XXVI. *Miraculous Cure of a Wounded Man*

At Lerida, in Catalonia, it befell that a certain man, named John, who was devoted unto the Blessed Francis, was one evening passing along a certain street, wherein men were lying in ambush. . . . One of them rushed out from the ambush, and . . . struck at him again and again, with such deadly blows as that there was no hope left for his recovery. . . . Then he turned him to implore the succour of the Blessed Father Francis, with utmost devoutness, yea, he had called upon him with all faith, and on the Blessed Virgin likewise, even while the wounds were being dealt. And lo! as the ill-fated man lay abandoned on his couch of affliction, and, sleepless, oft called upon the name of Francis, and cried it aloud repeatedly, one stood by him in the habit of a Brother Minor, having entered,—so it seemed unto him,—by the window. And he, calling him by name, said : “Because thou hast had faith in me, lo! the Lord will deliver thee.” When the sick man asked of him who he was, he made answer that he was Francis, and, forthwith, approaching him, undid the bandages of his wounds, and, as it seemed, anointed them all with ointment. Then forthwith, as the sick man felt the gentle touch of those holy hands, mighty to heal by the power of the stigmata of the Saviour, the corruption was driven out, the flesh was restored, and the wounds closed, and he himself was restored unto his former perfect soundness.

XXVII. *A Dead Woman Restored to make Confession*

In the town of Monte Marano, near Benevento, a certain woman that had an especial devotion unto Saint Francis went the way of all flesh. Now, when the clergy had come together at night to perform the funeral rites and vigils, and to chant the Psalms, on a sudden, in the sight of all, that woman rose up upon the bier, and called one of the priests that stood by, who was her confessor, saying : "I am fain to confess, Father ; hear my sin. I, when dead, was delivered over to be straitly imprisoned, for that I had never made confession of the sin that I will now disclose unto thee. But, (saith she), by the prayers offered for me by Saint Francis, whom, while I lived, I served with a devout mind, it hath now been vouchsafed me to return unto the body, to the end that, having revealed that sin, I may merit everlasting life. And lo ! yourselves shall see how that, after I have disclosed the same, I shall hasten unto the promised rest." Trembling, then, she confessed unto the trembling priest, and, after receiving absolution, laid herself quietly down on the bier, and in blessed wise fell on sleep in the Lord.

XXVIII. *Release of a Penitent Heretic*

While that the lord Pope Gregory the Ninth was sitting in the seat of the Blessed Peter, a certain man named Peter, of the city of Alesia, was accused of heresy, taken prisoner at Rome, and, at the bidding of that same Pontiff, handed over unto the safekeeping of the Bishop of Tivoli. The Bishop . . . bound him with fetters, and caused him to be shut up in a dark prison. . . . But the man began to call upon the Blessed Francis to have compassion on him, praying and weeping much, and all the more inasmuch as he had

heard that the Vigil of his Feast was then at hand. And because with sincere faith he had abjured all the errors of heretical frowardness . . . he gained an answer from the Lord. For, as the night of his Feast came on, about twilight, the Blessed Francis in his pity came down into the prison, and, calling the captive by name, bade him quickly arise. . . . Then by the power of the presence of the holy man he saw that the chains had fallen from his feet, broken . . . and that an open passage was afforded him for going forth; howbeit, all trembling and stricken dumb as he was, he knew not how to escape, but cried aloud in the doorway, and filled all the gaolers with fear. When they had related unto the Bishop that he was loosed from his bonds, and had informed the prelate of the manner of its happening, he came thither out of devotion, and, clearly perceiving the power of God, worshipped the Lord on the spot.

The curious tower that represents the prison may very probably have been suggested by Trajan's Column in Rome.

It is helpful to fix in one's mind the details of these frescoes (grouping, action, etc.), with a view to comparing them with other series illustrating the life of St. Francis, whether Giotto's own at Sta. Croce, or those of other painters (cf. next chap.). Later series, as we have said, are usually modelled on these Assisi scenes, although, of course, with variations in the choice of subject or treatment.

CHAPTER VI

The Legend of St. Francis in Italian Art (Part II) Other series of scenes

THE list of representations of the Legend of St. Francis given at the beginning of the last chapter includes several series of small scenes painted round figures of the Saint (*e.g.* those numbered II to VI). These need not detain us long. Incidents from the Saint's life are interspersed with miracles worked after his death ; of the former, the sermon to the birds, and the reception of the stigmata, are two favourite subjects. The miracle stories most frequently illustrated will be found in the next chapter (pp. 121-2.) Two scenes from the Life that I do not remember to have seen elsewhere are included in the series of twenty on the Bardi Chapel altarpiece,—the public penance that Francis imposed upon himself for having broken a strict fast during illness, and the preservation of a ship's crew during a tempest by means of the alms that had been provided for him and his companion. Both are taken from Bonaventura.¹ This series also includes the *Presepio* at Greccio.

¹ Bon., vi. 2 and ix. 5.



ST. FRANCIS BEFORE THE SOLDAN

Giotto
Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence

To face p. 96

The more important series on the list will now be described.

FLORENCE. STA. CROCE

BARDI CHAPEL. (First to right of high altar.)

This chapel, which Ruskin¹ has called "the most interesting and perfect little Gothic chapel in all Italy," was probably not built till after 1310.² Giotto's frescoes in it and in the neighbouring Peruzzi Chapel are, according to Mr. Fry,³ his "maturest and most consummate works." But they have suffered terribly at the hands of the restorer: the hard outlines in the "St. Francis" series were added about the middle of last century, and very little of the original colour can now remain. In grouping, however, and in dramatic power, they are still masterpieces. Giotto has departed in several particulars from his earlier rendering of the same scenes at *Assisi*, though these Bardi frescoes distinctly recall those. In the "Renunciation," there are the same defects in the drawing of the body and limbs of the young Francis; in the last scene, the same want of success in representing a sleeping figure. The vision at Arles seems less impressive, as the Saint is made to stand solidly on the centre of the floor, instead of

¹ *Mornings in Florence*, Part I. ² C. and C., vol. ii. p. 81.

³ "Giotto," II, p. 116 (*Monthly Review*, February, 1901).

appearing in the air, as at Assisi ; the scene before the Soldan and the death scene, on the other hand, are an advance on those at Assisi (where the death scene was not by Giotto himself). Ruskin's eloquent description (*Mornings in Florence*, Parts I and III) should be read on the spot. The scenes are as follows :—

LEFT WALL

- Top row. The Renunciation before the Bishop.
- Middle row. The Chapter at Arles.
- Bottom row. The death of St. Francis. (Jerome, the doubter, kneels in front. Cf. p. 91.)

RIGHT WALL

- Top row. The Rule approved by the Pope.
- Middle row. Before the Soldan.

Bottom row (left half). This scene probably represents St. Francis blessing¹ the Brothers on his death-bed ; but I have sometimes wondered whether the halo is not a mistaken addition of the restorer, and whether the central figure is not really that of the dying Brother who cried "Tarry for me" (cf. p. 90). His attitude is appropriate, and the analogy with the Assisi scenes, where this story does adjoin that of the Bishop, suggests it.

Bottom row (right half). The Saint after death appears to the Bishop of Assisi.

¹ Not blessing the city of Assisi, as has been suggested ; that blessing was given on the road to the Portiuncula.



To face p. 98

DEATH OF ST. FRANCIS

Giotto
Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, Florence

[Note on the Bardi Chapel]

Altarpiece (St. Francis), probably by Margaritone (cf. p. 44). By the window, figures of Franciscan saints (cf. p. 164). On the vaulting, symbolical glory of St. Francis, and the Three Virtues (cf. p. 67).

Over the entrance arch, St. Francis receiving the stigmata.]

THE CLOISTERS

(Left wall, between entrance door and Pazzi Chapel.)

These frescoes are much damaged, and scarcely decipherable. It is just possible to make out Madonna presenting SS. Dominic and Francis to Christ (cf. p. 127); the Pope's dream; Francis and his followers before the Pope; the reception of the stigmata; a preaching scene.

THE REFECTIONARY

(End wall.)

The "Arbor Vitæ" of Taddeo Gaddi (ct. p. 69). To the left (at the top) is the reception of the stigmata, with some verses, rather difficult to read, beginning O CRUCIFER SERAPHYCE (*sic*).

Below this, a scene connected with St. Louis of Toulouse, probably one of the meals to which he was accustomed to invite the poor, but of this I am not sure.¹

[For the Sta. Croce pulpit, cf. p. 200.]

¹ The top scene on the right is not Franciscan, the hermit is St. Benedict. The story will be found in Mrs. Jameson's *Legends of the Monastic Orders*, p. 20.

FLORENCE. ACCADEMIA. (Room I. 117-126.)

A series of small panels on wood, brought from Sta. Croce ; probably designed by Giotto, and executed by Taddeo Gaddi. Several of them recall the Assisi scenes :—

- (i.) The Renunciation.
- (ii.) The supporting of the Lateran. (Here St. Peter vigorously rouses the Pope, while the top of the church is actually falling off. St. Francis has the stigmata, which, of course, is an anachronism.)
- (iii.) St. Francis and his companions before the Pope.
- (iv.) The vision of the fiery chariot.
- (v.) The martyrdom of Franciscan missionaries in Morocco. (St. Francis with outstretched hands in the air above. A haloed Dominican, presumably a fellow-martyr, stands by.)
- (vi.) The Rule approved by the Pope.
- (vii.) The *Presepio* at Greccio.
- (viii.) The Chapter at Arles.
- (ix.) The reception of the stigmata.
- (x.) The death of St. Francis. (The doubter, Jerome, is as usual introduced.)

FLORENCE. STA. TRINITA¹

SASSETTI CHAPEL

(Second to right of high altar on entering.)

This chapel was frescoed by Domenico Ghirlandaio, and the decorative effect is decidedly pleasing, although the painter has, as usual, shown more interest in stately figures and picturesque accessories than in the expression of feeling. In the scene of St. Francis's death, for instance, and in that of the Spini child, the bystanders appear quite indifferent to what is passing. They are all typically Florentine. The donors of the chapel are painted kneeling on either side of the altar. The scenes are arranged as follows :—

ABOVE THE ALTAR

Top row. St. Francis before Pope Honorius.
(An overcrowded composition.)

Lower row. The miracle of the Spini child. A well-known Florentine story. (Cf. p. 147.) The child fell from a palace window and was killed, but restored by the intercession of the Saint, who here appears in a cloud. The Piazza and Ponte Sta. Trinita and the old façade of the church are seen.

¹ This series is inserted here, though out of chronology, with a view to keeping all those in Florence together.

LEFT WALL

Top row. The Renunciation.

Lower row. St. Francis receiving the stigmata.
(With an elaborate landscape.)

RIGHT WALL

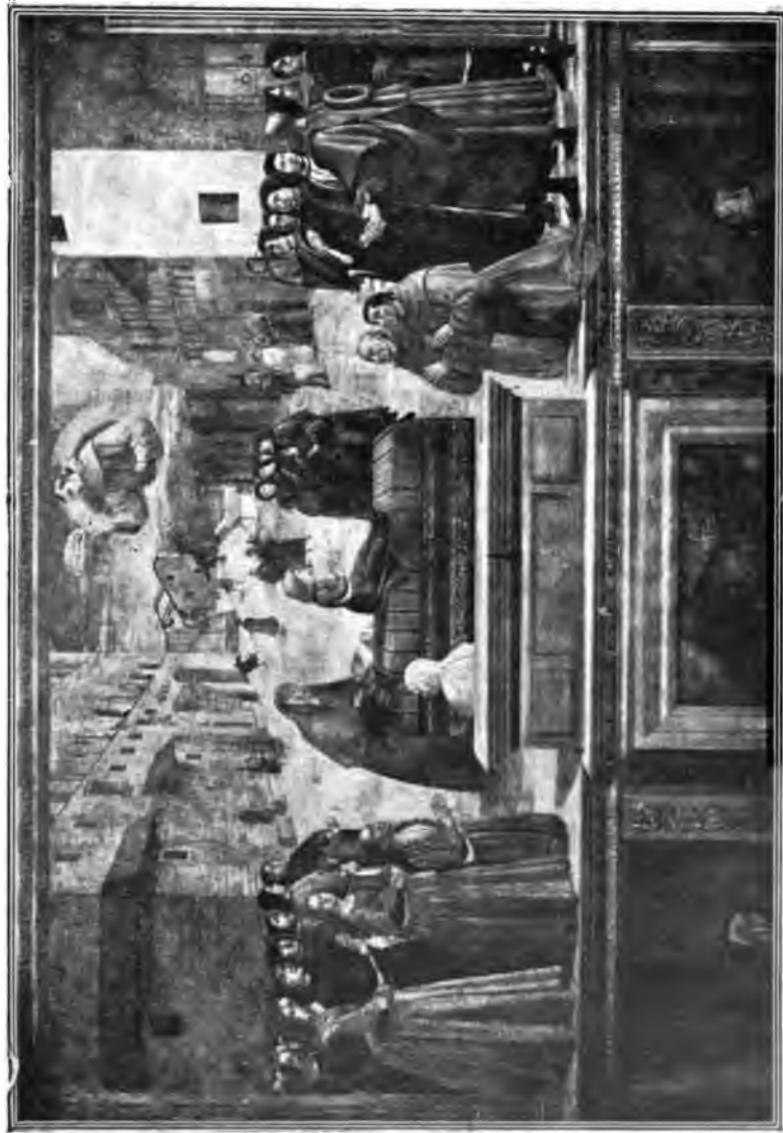
Top row. Before the Soldan.

Lower row. Death of St. Francis.

VENICE. ACCADEMIA. (Room I. 21.)

In a large polyptych, labelled *Ignoti Veneti del secolo xiv.*, the series of small panels at the top are Franciscan scenes, ascribed to Semitecolo. The lower panels (scenes from the life of Christ, etc.) are by a different hand. Beginning at the left, we have :—

- (i.) The habit given to St. Clare. (Cf. p. 188.)
(The habit is here striped, not the usual plain brown or grey.)
- (ii.) The Renunciation.
- (iii.) The reception of the stigmata. (Inscribed CHUOR (*sic*) CONTRITUM ET HUMILIATUM DEUS CÖSPICIT.)
- (iv.) The death of St. Francis.



MIRACLE OF THE SPINI CHILD

Domenico Ghirlandaio
Sassetti Chapel, Sta. Trinita, Florence

To face p. 102

PISTOIA. SAN FRANCESCO-AL-PRATO

The frescoes in this church have been covered with a coating of light green paint, and only uncovered in part. Some of them are so much damaged and so fragmentary as to be quite unrecognizable. They are usually attributed to Puccio Capanna and Antonio Vite, both followers of Giotto, but Vite a quite mediocre local painter. Lippo Memmi is supposed to have worked in this church.

The scenes in the choir, behind the high altar, are as follows :—

LEFT WALL

Top row. The young Francis praying in St. Damian's. (A close copy of the Assisi fresco.) A half-legible inscription below reads . . . DAMIAN . . . S. F. ORĀS . . . FRANCISCE VADE REPARĀ DOMŪ MEŪ Q. UT (?) VIDES TOTA DESTRUCTUR.¹

Lower row. The supporting of the Lateran.

The next two frescoes are quite obliterated.

RIGHT WALL

Top row. Before the Soldan.

Lower row. The reception of the stigmata. The figure of St. Francis is quite gone. Two beasts, suggestive of a mule and a wolf, prowl in the background, while right in the centre is

¹ i.e. the words spoken by the Crucified (Bon., ii. 1), with the substitution of (what reads like) VIDES for CERNIS. (Cf. p. 75.)

“Brother Falcon,” who used to arouse the Saint for Prime with his cries, during his sojourn on La Verna.

IN THE FIRST CHAPEL TO THE RIGHT OF THE HIGH ALTAR are some more scenes, probably legends of St. Antony, as the Saint is portrayed as quite youthful, beardless, and with a round head. They are, however, too ruined to enable one to determine. In one, the Saint is seen preaching in a wooden pulpit, a dove in a glory of light over his head. In another, some friars are seen with big rush baskets. This may perhaps represent Brothers going forth with baskets to collect their alms, or the food sent out by St. Francis to the starving brigands.¹ Crowe and Cavalcaselle² mention a Giottesque fresco of the miracle of the loaves and fishes, as symbolizing the charity of the Franciscans, at Sta. Chiara, *Naples*, so this may possibly be the same.

IN THE SACRISTY, on the wall opposite the door, is a fresco of St. Francis receiving the stigmata; on the opposite wall, a “Crucifixion,” with a kneeling St. Francis.

(For the picture of St. Francis below this, cf. p. 44.)

IN THE CHAPTER-HOUSE (wall facing windows) is the “Arbor Vitæ” (cf. p. 69). St. Francis

¹ *The Little Flowers*, ch. 26 ² C. and C., vol. ii. p. 93.

kneels, clasping the foot of the Cross. Bonaventura (with a Cardinal's hat) sits writing on a scroll. There are two small figures of donors, one of whom, a woman, wears the Franciscan habit.

On the vaulting, in a triangular space over the windows, is the *Presepio* at Greccio. Though but a poor work of art, there is a good deal of poetical feeling shown in the rendering of the scene. The suggestion of night is conveyed by the dark sky, starry in places, behind the surrounding foliage, and by the lantern over the reading-desk. One of the spectators—he with the yellow-and-white robe and head-dress—may perhaps be intended for Messer John of Greccio himself. (Cf. p. 83.)

To the right of this, in another triangle, is the Glory of St. Francis, resembling that at Assisi (cf. p. 156), save that the Saint is here bearded, and his vestments are brown and green. In a corresponding position to this, on the opposite wall, is the death scene, referred to on p. 123, of which I have been unable to trace the story.

THE ALTARPIECE BY SASSETTA

The panels comprising this picture have been reproduced, and fully described, by Mr. Berenson in the *Burlington Magazine* (Sept.-Oct., 1903), to which readers are referred. Mr. Berenson has

rendered an incalculable service to Franciscan students, as, now that the panels are divided among private collections, it is very difficult to study them in the originals. I know them myself only through these reproductions. An instructive comparison is drawn in the article between these Sienese renderings of the legends and those of Giotto. Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni) set to work on the altarpiece—which originally adorned San Francesco in *Borgo San Sepolcro*—in 1437. The panels are :—

(i.) The charity of St. Francis to the poor knight, and the subsequent vision of the palace.

(ii.) The Renunciation.

(iii.) The pact with “Brother Wolf.”

This picture, in its charming simplicity, is no unworthy illustration of one of the most characteristically Franciscan chapters of the *Floretti*.¹ The fierce man-slaying wolf of Gubbio was no more beyond the pale of Francis’s sympathy than the mountain brigands ; he comprehended the desperation of both. “I wot well that through hunger hast thou wrought all this ill.” And neither brigand nor wolf could resist the gentle Saint who greeted them alike with the name of “Brother.” Francis’s sympathy never stopped at

¹ Ch. 21.

words. On behalf of the townsfolk of Gubbio, he promised Brother Wolf that his daily food should not fail, while, on behalf of Brother Wolf, he promised the townsfolk that they should be no more molested. Brother Wolf signified his assent by laying his right paw in the hand of Brother Francis. The pact was loyally observed on both sides, and for two years, until his death, the wolf went about the streets of Gubbio "like a tame beast . . . and was courteously nourished by the people, and . . . never did any dog bark behind him."

Sassetta's picture is, so far as I know, the only early illustration of this story in Italian painting.¹ There is a late sixteenth-century picture of it in the Pinacoteca at Gubbio, in which the wolf looks sly and hypocritical, and the Saint somewhat like a professional lion-tamer.

- (iv.) Before the Soldan.
- (v.) The Rule confirmed by the Pope.
- (vi.) The reception of the stigmata.
- (vii.) The death of St. Francis.
- (viii.) The meeting with the three maidens, symbolizing Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. (Cf. p. 66.) This mystical encounter is described

¹ A woodcarver of Gubbio who worked on the great wooden door of the Lower Church, Assisi, did not forget to introduce the story of Brother Wolf in one of its panels. A stone carved to commemorate it is mentioned by Miss McCracken in her recently-published *Gubbio Past and Present* (Nutt. 1905).

by Bonaventura¹ as taking place near Siena, so that the subject would naturally appeal to a Siennese painter. Sassetta makes the Saint place a ring on the finger of the Lady Poverty, after which the three maidens are borne up to heaven, the Bride casting back a wistful look at her earthly spouse.

(For a rather similar picture in the Vatican Christian Museum, cf. p. 66.)

(ix.) The Glory or Triumph of St. Francis. This has been already described on p. 67. The figure is singularly beautiful, the face full of mystic rapture. The words **PATRIARCHA PAUPERUM FRANCIS** are inscribed in the halo.

MONTEFALCO. SAN FRANCESCO

The choir of this church, which is now used as a picture gallery, was frescoed by Benozzo Gozzoli, in the year 1452, by order of "Brother James of Montefalco, of the Order of Minors," as an inscription shows. There is a somewhat prosaic, matter-of-fact tone about the series, and Benozzo, while remembering the type that his master, Fra Angelico, had chosen for St. Francis, has made it more stolid and less spiritual. The frescoes² are in three rows,

¹ Bon., ch. vii. 6.

² They are reproduced in the monograph on Gozzoli in Newnes's Art Library.

and read from left to right, beginning with the bottom row.

Bottom row. The Saint's birth in a stable.¹ The garment spread in the street for him to tread on. (Cf. p. 73.)

The gift of the mantle to the poor knight.

The dream of the Palace. (A very fair and childlike figure of the sleeping Francis.)

Then comes the window. There may, perhaps, have originally been in its place a scene of Francis in St. Damian's, as the sill is still inscribed with the message of the Crucifix, and the account of the money thrown away on the window-sill. We know that Benozzo's fresco of the Madonna and Child was ruthlessly cut away from the surrounding frescoes in the Riccardi Chapel, Florence, to make room for a window, so it is just possible that the same may have happened here.

The Renunciation before the Bishop.

The meeting with St. Dominic, and vision of the Madonna. (Cf. p. 127.)

Middle row. The supporting of the Lateran.

Pope Honorius confirms the Rule.

The devils expelled from Arezzo. (Cf. p. 80.) This is one of the best realized scenes. The city wall is labelled CIVITAS ARETTII, and there is a charming landscape with trees.

¹ A late legend, with no foundation. Cf. next chapter, p. 118.

Then comes the window.

The sermon to the birds at Bevagna, and the blessing of Montefalco. A bishop and nobles kneel before Francis, and the little walled town is seen to the right.

The Knight of Celano (cf. p. 86). A damaged fresco. The grave sorrow on the face of Francis is finely rendered, while a touching element is introduced by the presence of the Knight's children.

Top row. The *Presepio* at Greccio.¹

Before the Soldan. (For the introduction of the fascinating temptress, cf. p. 120.)

Then comes the window.

St. Francis receiving the stigmata. (A very poorly-rendered scene.)

The death of St. Francis; the doubter Jerome convinced.

[*Note on the further decoration of the choir and nave*

Inside the entrance arch, half-length figures of St. Francis and the early "Companions." Under the legend scenes, medallions of famous Franciscans. On the vaulting, SS. Antony, Rose, and others. St. Francis in a ring of fiery seraphim, in deacon's vestments, with a curious black halo. He holds a book inscribed EGO ENIM STIGMATA DÑ IESU IN CÖPORE MEO PORTO.

¹ The little boy in green, whom a woman holds by the hand, strongly resembles the baby St. Augustine in Gozzoli's frescoes at San Gimignano.

RIGHT WALL OF NAVE

Crucifix by Margaritone, with kneeling St. Francis.

Miracles of San Bernardino, by Mezzastris.

Madonna and saints, by Melanzio da Montefalco, signed and dated 1494. (The "St. Francis" is melancholy and affected.)

LEFT WALL OF NAVE

Miracles of St. Antony, by Lorenzo di Viterbo.]

FRESCOES BY ADONE DONI AND GIOLFINO

The two remaining series of frescoes on the list (xviii. and xix.), those by Adone Doni at *Assisi* and by Giolfino at *Verona*, are florid and soulless work of the late sixteenth century.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle¹ mention some Giottesque scenes from the Franciscan legends in the Refectory of the ex-convent of San Francesco, *Bologna*. These I have not seen.

STAINED GLASS

The stained-glass scenes in the Upper and Lower Church, *Assisi*, will be alluded to in chapter ix.

A fine wheel window in San Francesco, *Arezzo* (over the door), shows the Pope approving the Rule. It dates from about 1520, and is, I believe, considered the best example of Guillaume de Marseille's work.

¹ C. and C., vol ii. p. 154.

CHAPTER VII

The Indulgence of the Portiuncula—Two late legends—Miracle scenes—St. Dominic associated with St. Francis

A WHOLE cycle of pictures is associated with the INDULGENCE OF THE PORTIUNCULA, and calls for some notice, as these pictures are often puzzling to those unacquainted with the legend, which is briefly as follows.

St. Francis, being very anxious to make his beloved Portiuncula a place of special sanctity, and one where many souls might be saved, was inspired by Christ to ask of Pope Honorius III, shortly after his election in 1216, an Indulgence, which should be "without alms or oblations"—that is, bestowed freely on all who visited the church "contrite and having made confession." Accordingly he set out for Perugia, where the Pope then was, and made his request, which, in spite of some opposition from the Cardinals, was granted. The Pope, however, restricted the Indulgence to one day yearly. The consent was quite informal, and no date was fixed for the Indulgence to begin.

Some months later, the Saint was one night in his

cell at the Portiuncula assailed by a sudden temptation, and, in order to vanquish it, rushed out into the garden and threw himself among some brambles. Then, midwinter as it was, he beheld them suddenly covered with roses, shining white and red, where his blood had fallen upon them. And an angel stood by him bidding him enter the little church of the Portiuncula ; there he beheld in vision the Saviour and His Mother, and was directed to seek the Pope once more, and urge for the appointment of a date, carrying some of the miraculous roses as a proof of the divine authority with which he came. The next morning Francis set forth, and took with him Masseo and two other Brothers as witnesses. The Pope accepted the roses marvelling, and decreed 2 August of that year, and of each succeeding year, as the day on which the Indulgence could be obtained. The story goes on to say that Francis proclaimed it publicly to the Umbrian people in the presence of seven Bishops of neighbouring dioceses, and that when he announced the Indulgence as "perpetual," some of the Bishops were fain to contradict him and limit it to a term of ten years, but all found themselves compelled as by miracle to echo the Saint's words.

Now no one can doubt that this is a poetical and embellished version of a story that is in itself somewhat difficult of acceptance. It is most im-

probable that *two* visits should have been made to the Pope, and the roses do not appear in the earliest accounts. They were, no doubt, suggested by the legend of St. Benedict and the briars at Subiaco. But, setting aside legendary additions, the story is still suspicious. The granting of an unconditional Indulgence would have been most unusual at that time ; there is no Papal Bull for it. On the other hand, there was a very strong motive among the party opposed to the claim of the new Church of San Francesco to be "Caput et Mater Ordinis," for gaining an unique distinction for the Portiuncula. The argument from the supposed silence of the early biographers has, it must be admitted, been fairly met by M. Sabatier in his introduction to the *Tractatus* of Bartholi¹; to it I must refer readers who are interested in this question. M. Sabatier had first rejected the story of the Indulgence *en bloc*, but has been led by the study of documents to reverse his original views.

Bartholi was Reader in Theology at the Portiuncula from 1320 to 1326, and Guardian at St. Damian's in 1332 ; his treatise was probably composed about 1335, but it includes the testimony of several witnesses of the century before, and of

¹ Fr. Francisci Bartholi de Assisio *Tractatus de Indulgentia S. M. de Portiuncula.* Ed. P. Sabatier. (Coll. d'études, etc., Tome II.)

various well-known contemporary Franciscans. We have a long account composed by Conrad, Bishop of Assisi, about the same time as Bartholi's treatise, although evidently independently. The story, as related above, is given by Bartholi in chapters v. to x.

The Feast of the Indulgence, or *Perdono d'Assisi*, is still held yearly, on 2 August.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE STORY

Some illustrations of the story, which was not treated by any artist of the first rank, are as follows. As might be expected, they are mostly local :—

I. AND II. AT THE PORTIUNCULA

The earliest, according to Thode,¹ on the authority of Vasari, was by Puccio Capanna on the old façade of the Portiuncula. This was repainted by Niccolò Alunno, whose frescoes in their turn were covered by that of Overbeck, which represents St. Francis kneeling before the Madonna, while some of the roses are strewn on the altar steps.

Some idea of Alunno's fresco can be obtained from the picture of the old façade, by Tiberio d'Assisi

¹ Thode, *Franz von Assisi*, p. 174.

in the Chapel of the Roses at the Portiuncula.¹ Here, on the very spot where the roses bloomed at midwinter, and where they still bloom, thornless, and with leaves red-stained, a series of frescoes in the nave, painted in 1507, tells the story of the Indulgence. An almost identical series by the same painter, dating from a few years later, is at

III. MONTEFALCO

CHURCH OF SAN FORTUNATO.—(Just outside the town.) The frescoes are in the Cappella di Sant' Antonio ; they are dated 1512, and are distinctly Peruginesque in style.

On the left wall, St. Francis kneels in front of a rush hut, holding a scourge. He is naked to the waist, and has fair hair and beard ; the stigmata are shown, though, of course, incorrectly, as the traditional gaining of the Indulgence was some years previous to their impression. Two lovely angels stand by him, and a winding road, lake, and mountains form the background.

On the centre wall (i.) (left), St. Francis carries red and white roses, while two angels accompany him.

(ii.) (middle), Christ and Madonna enthroned, with St. Francis kneeling before them ; angels

¹ In the background of the scene where St. Francis proclaims the Indulgence.

surround them, and some of the roses lie on the altar.

(iii.) (right), St. Francis and his companions kneel before the Pope, Cardinals sitting round. Francis presents the roses.

On the right wall, St. Francis proclaims the Indulgence. The Bishops are in the pulpit behind him. Part of his figure is damaged. The façade of the Portiuncula is seen. A crowd of spectators and *frati* in front.

IV. ASSISI

SAN FRANCESCUCCIO¹ (Via Garibaldi).—Under a pent-house roof over the door are some damaged frescoes by Matteo da Gualdo (Umbrian School). Christ and Madonna are enthroned among angels, St. Francis kneels presenting roses. Christ Himself holds a wreath of red and white roses. In the right-hand corner, St. Francis brings the roses, accompanied by two angels; in the left, he kneels presenting them to the Pope. At the sides, in the arch, are (to left) St. Francis with a background of red and white rose bushes; (to right) *probably* (but the fresco is indistinct) the preaching of the Indulgence, with Bishops and spectators.

¹ This Chapel is sometimes called by the name of the “Confraternità delle Stimmate.”

V. SPELLO

CONVENT OF SAN GIROLAMO.—(Just outside the walls ; a lovely path among the olives leads to it.) On the left side wall of the loggia is St. Francis preaching the Indulgence. (A bad fresco.)¹

VI. VERONA

SAN BERNARDINO.—Among the sixteenth-century series of scenes from the Franciscan legends by Giolfino (1st chapel to right on entering), is the vision of Christ and the Madonna at the Portiuncula, with the roses outside.

TWO LATE LEGENDS

Of one late legend—the birth of St. Francis in a stable—there is only one representation known to Thode,² that by Benozzo Gozzoli in his series at *Montefalco*. Nor have I ever come across any other.

This legend was invented from a desire to make the life of the Saint conform in every possible particular to that of our Lord, and though the

¹ Two others represent the reception of the stigmata, and the Renunciation before the Bishop. ² *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

stable, now turned into a chapel, is shown at Assisi to-day, there is absolutely no historical foundation for the story. Indeed, it can be proved to have originated between the years 1387 and 1452. In 1387, Bartholomew of Pisa published his *Golden Book of Conformities*, in which he traces innumerable parallels, more or less fanciful, between the lives of Christ and of St. Francis; he would certainly not have neglected this striking one had it been current in his day, but he is quite silent about it. Benozzo's frescoes are dated 1452, so the story had evidently spread about between these two dates. Wadding tells it in his *Annals*¹ (published in 1625), but gives no authority for it; and the Bollandists² were unable to find any before an obscure writer who died in 1504, so that they unhesitatingly judge the story a fabrication.

In Gozzoli's fresco, the left part of the scene shows the stable, with the new-born infant in the nurse's hands; the centre shows the pilgrim on the doorstep, who announced to Pica that her child should be born there (or, perhaps, the angel disguised as a pilgrim, who came to pronounce a benediction over the babe³); the right-hand part

¹ *Annales. Apparatus III*, viii. ² *A.S.S.*, vol. I. p. 557

³ This incident is described by Bartholomew of Pisa. *Lib. Conf.*, p. 35, col. 4. (Both sides count as one page, with two columns on each)

shows the simpleton spreading his cloak for the young Francis to tread on (cf. p. 73).

Gozzoli is also, so far as I know, the only illustrator of a variant on the story of the Ordeal by Fire before the Soldan, in which the latter sends a light woman to tempt the Saint. In the fresco, she is a pretty blonde girl in green, who holds up her slender hands in amazement, as Francis, holding the Cross, walks through the fire. The *Speculum Vitæ* of 1509 is the only authority for this story, which is repeated by Wadding,¹ but rightly judged spurious by the Bollandists.²

MIRACLE STORIES

We have sometimes to remind ourselves that the great and immediate popularity of St. Francis in the Middle Ages was based, not so much on the grounds that now appeal to us—though these were doubtless appreciated too—as on his miraculous powers, and especially on the crowning miracle of the stigmata. We must, therefore, not be surprised to find accounts of miracles, that may seem to us trivial, childish, or incredible, occupying so large a space in Celano and Bonaventura. The same was the case with that other most popular

¹ *Annales*, I, p. 327. (Under the year 1219.)

² *A.S.S.*, vol. I. p. 615.

medieval saint, Thomas of Canterbury, of whom fantastic miracles were related, and may be seen depicted on the windows of "Becket's Crown" in Canterbury Cathedral.

It was, then, from Celano and Bonaventura that the painters drew their miracle stories, and the illustrations can generally be identified with the text, although they are occasionally puzzling. They are often painted, as we have seen, down the sides of a big picture, as at *Pescia*, and in the Bardi Chapel at Sta. Croce. The miracles are usually of healing, or of casting out devils, in most cases wrought by the glorified Saint. For instance, both at *Pescia*, in the Bardi Chapel, and in a picture in the Vatican Christian Museum,¹ we see a young man with crutches sitting on a rock in the midst of some water; St. Francis touches his leg, and he walks away, carrying his crutches. This presumably illustrates the story of the crippled Bartholomew of Narni, who was bidden by St. Francis in a vision to enter a bath, and, when there, felt a mysterious healing touch, and jumped up with the use of his limbs restored. This story is told by Celano,² and another scene found both at *Pescia* and in the Bardi Chapel—the cure of a

¹ The figure of St. Francis assigned to Giunta Pisano (cf. p. 41).

² Cel., *Vita Prima*, Book III, ch. ii., par. 135.

deformed girl at the translation of the Saint's body —comes from the same source.¹ At *Pescia*, in the Vatican picture, and elsewhere, there are representations of the casting out of devils, usually in the form of black bat-winged imps ; the source for these is again Celano,² and the chapter devoted to such cures in Bonaventura.

The last few scenes in the series at Assisi (Upper Church) are of miracles (cf. pp. 92-5).

For the story of the Spini child, cf. pp. 101, 147.

One of Giolfino's frescoes in San Bernardino, *Verona*, illustrates the miracle story told by Bonaventura,³ of the sick beasts who were cured by being sprinkled with water in which St. Francis had washed his hands.

The Vatican picture mentioned above has a small scene (right side, bottom) which apparently illustrates the story⁴ of the woodchopper who persisted in working on St. Francis's Day, and was punished by finding the wood and axe firmly fixed in his hands. After confession and supplication in the neighbouring Franciscan church, he was released. In this picture a man stands before two *frati* at an altar, holding what looks like cleft wood in one hand, a long pole in the other.

¹ Cel., *Vita Prima*, Book III, ch. ii., par. 127.

² Ib., Bk. I, ch. viii., 69 and 70, and Bk. III, ch. ii., par. 138.

³ Bon., xiii. 6.

⁴ Ib. *Miracles*, ix. 1

There is a curious fresco in San Francesco at *Pistoia* (one of the four on the vaulting of the Chapter-house, cf. p. 105), of which I have been unable to identify the story. It is a death scene, and might at first be mistaken for the death of St. Francis himself, but the dead man has no halo, and above the roof two bat-winged devils are carrying away his naked soul, writhing. He wears the habit of a friar, and a friar with a halo stands at the foot of the bier, while others bend over it; one seems fainting. A man enters, as though bringing news, and, to the right, others carry in bundles of long staves tied together.

ST. DOMINIC ASSOCIATED WITH ST. FRANCIS

The relations between St. Francis and St. Dominic are of peculiar interest. That two such men, so widely different, and yet each striving in his own characteristic fashion for a common aim, should have been living at the same time was sufficiently remarkable; that they should have crossed one another's path was more remarkable still; the actual meeting must have been one of the most dramatic incidents in all history. The two are linked together alike in art and in literature, first and foremost in the immortal cantos of Dante.¹

¹ *Par.*, xi. and xii

ST. DOMINIC. 1170-1221

While St. Francis has never lost his hold on men's hearts, never failed of his due meed of love and honour, St. Dominic has, I think, scarcely received his. Outside his own Church, at any rate, he has not been rightly understood or sufficiently appreciated. The champion of a rigid orthodoxy can hardly appeal to us as does the tender-hearted Brother of the poor and the leper, lover of all the "creatures of the Lord"; moreover, we are apt to scan Dominic's face in the lurid glow of the Inquisition fires. But though later Inquisitors were usually Dominican, it should never be forgotten that Dominic himself made a noble protest against the persecution of the Albigenses, begging for a respite in which to try and convert them by preaching and example, and only reluctantly resorting to sterner methods when these failed. Then he felt it his duty to show himself *ai nemici crudo*. His self-sacrifice and whole-hearted desire to follow and to preach Christ were no less than those of Francis, and there must have been much that was lovable in the man who could, while an eager student, part with his dearly-loved books to relieve the poor in a time of famine—nay, could even on another occasion offer himself as a slave to redeem a captive. These and other in-

cidents, including several miracles of healing, are often portrayed in scenes from his life, but we can here deal with his story only in so far as it touches that of St. Francis.

It has been maintained by some Franciscan writers that St. Dominic borrowed the idea of a life of absolute poverty from St. Francis, and that the *Predicatores* only became a Mendicant Order after the Franciscan Chapter of 1218, at which St. Dominic was present. But, as M. Guiraud has pointed out in his admirable essay¹: "St. Dominique a-t-il copié St. François?" the facts do not bear this out. As early as 1205 Dominic had obtained permission from Pope Innocent III to try his new method in the so-called Crusade against the heretic Albigenses of the country round Toulouse. He was convinced that the charges launched by heretic preachers against the pomp and worldliness of the Roman clergy could only be silenced by outdoing these heretics in voluntary poverty and austeries, and by preaching the true faith in apostolic fashion. The Gospel, as M. Guiraud points out, was probably his model, as it was that of Francis. A band of devoted followers gathered round him, going about preaching, in absolute dependence upon alms, and thus came into being the great Order of Preachers. It was sanctioned at the fourth Lateran

¹ *Mélanges.* Paul Fabre. (Paris, 1902.)

Council at Rome in 1215 (when St. Francis obtained the first informal sanction for his Rule), and it was probably in this or the following year that the two Saints met in Rome, although some writers put it in 1219. (For the vision that preceded the meeting, cf. next page). As they separated, St. Dominic¹ is said to have begged St. Francis for his cord, and to have worn it thereafter in memory of him. Dominic's presence at one or more of the Chapters held at the Portiuncula seems probable,² the most likely year is 1218. A traditional meeting of the two Saints at Florence is commemorated by the Della Robbia relief over the Loggia di San Paolo.³

St. Dominic's Day is 4 August. In pictures, he usually carries a lily, sometimes a book or Cross. He wears the habit of his Order, *i.e.* a black cloak over a white inner tunic, with a round hood (not pointed like that of the Franciscans), and a leather belt. The most beautiful representations of him are those by Fra Angelico at San Marco, *Florence*. In several he is seen kneeling at the foot of the Cross. But Dominic and his story did not lend themselves to pictorial treatment as did the Umbrian Saint and his enchanting legends, which was probably one reason why, as Sir Martin Conway⁴ has

¹ *Mirror of Perfection*, ch. xlivi. (Cf. p. 48.)

² Cf. *Fioretti*, ch. xviii. Wadding, *Annals*, I, pp. 286 sqq.

³ Cf. p. 207.

⁴ *Early Tuscan Art*, p. 181.



T. face p. 126

MEETING OF SS. FRANCIS AND DOMINIC

Andrea della Robbia
Loggia di San Paolo, Florence

pointed out, the splendid figure of Thomas Aquinas tended to supersede that of the Founder of his Order. Pictures of his "Triumph" became to Dominicans what pictures of St. Francis receiving the stigmata were to Franciscans, *i.e.* almost parallels to the "Transfiguration" and "Crucifixion" respectively.

The following are three scenes in which SS. Francis and Dominic figure together in art :—

I. Madonna sends them forth as her two champions to win back the world to Christ.

Legend tells how St. Dominic, while in Rome, had a vision in which he saw Christ, as the wrathful Judge, about to hurl His thunderbolts on the guilty earth, when His Mother came and knelt before Him, beseeching Him to stay His hand, and showing Him that she had two champions prepared to win the world from sin. In one, Dominic recognized himself; the other was unknown to him. On meeting Francis shortly after, he at once recognized in him his fellow-champion in the vision. The story is told by two Dominicans,¹ Gerard de Fracheto and Theodoric de Appoldia, the biographer of St. Elizabeth. The former says that he heard it through a Brother Minor, the latter that Francis himself related it. The vision is also narrated by

¹ *A.S.S.* for 4 August, pp. 441-2.

Bartholomew of Pisa¹ as derived from "the Legend of the Blessed Dominic," and by Wadding,² who describes St. Francis as seeing the vision too. The vision and the meeting are sometimes painted as one scene—as, for example, in the damaged frescoes of the cloisters at Sta. Croce, *Florence* (left wall on entering, between the second and third bays of the arches),³ and in the series by Benozzo Gozzoli at San Francesco, *Montefalco* (choir, to right of window, bottom row). Below this fresco is inscribed : QUANDO B. VIRGO OSTEDIT XTO BEATU FRANCISCU ET BEATU DOMINICU PRO REPARATIONE MUNDI. Here St. Dominic is grey-haired. A brother of either Order stands looking on.

The vision of the Madonna is also painted by Giolfino in the inner cloister of San Bernardino, *Verona*. (A damaged fresco.)

II. *The meeting of the two Saints.*

There are many pictures of the meeting of Francis and Dominic, apart from those in which the vision also occurs. Examples :—

Cortona. Baptistry. By Fra Angelico.

¹ *Lib. Conf.*, p. 23.

² *Annals*, I, p. 252.

³ Here "the World" is presumably represented by three gay figures seated under some trees, recalling those in the "Triumph of Death" in the *Campo Santo, Pisa*.

Parma. Pin. (Rotunda, 429.) By Fra Angelico. (Here the Saints kneel and clasp hands, gazing intently at one another.)

Verona. Sant' Anastasia. *Tondo* on the ceiling.

The most ideal representation is that by Andrea della Robbia at *Florence*, referred to above (cf. p. 207), where the contrast between the two, and yet their vital sympathy, is beautifully brought out.

III. *The supporting of St. John Lateran.*

In pictures painted for Dominicans, the figure of their Founder usually supports the falling Church, either together with St. Francis or alone. The latter is the case in the *predella* of Fra Angelico's picture in the Baptistry, *Cortona*, already alluded to.

Some other pictures in which the two Saints appear together are as follows :—

Arezzo. Sta. Maria della Pieve. (On a column to left of high altar.) By Jacopo del Casentino.¹

Bologna. Pin. B. 42 and 51. By L. Caracci.

Florence. San Marco. In a "Coronation of the Blessed Virgin." (Ninth cell to left of corridor.) By Fra Angelico. Also in the Chapter-house "Crucifixion."

¹ Sometimes attributed to Giotto.

130 FRANCISCAN LEGENDS IN ITALIAN ART

Florence. Pitti. 172. In Andrea's "Disputa."
(Cf. p. 62.)

Perugia. Pin. VI. 19. By Boccatis da Camerino.

Rimini. Pin. By Benedetto Cola da Rimini.¹

Siena. Ist. di B. A. III. 209. By Pierfrancesco fiorentino.

¹ Thode speaks of a picture of the meeting of the two Saints by B. Coda in the Cathedral, *Rimini*. I could find no trace of it, and think this must be what he meant.

CHAPTER VIII

The Church of San Francesco at Assisi—The story of its building—Other Franciscan Churches; their general type—Arms of the Order

IT is to one man that we owe the great Church which dominates the hillside of Assisi, and is visible for miles across or along the Spoletan valley—the Church that is one of the finest and earliest Gothic monuments in Italy, and an unrivalled treasury of Italian fresco-painting. That one man is Brother Elias, Minister-General of the Order at the time of Francis's death in 1226. The Basilica incarnates his spirit and his ideal for the Order far more than that of the Saint whose tomb it enshrines, and whose known wishes and expressed commands were flatly disobeyed in its building. “Let them (the Brothers Minor) make build little churches, for they ought not to have great churches builded, neither for the sake of preaching to the people nor upon none other occasion.” It must have been with a heartache that Leo recorded his master's words.¹ As students and lovers of Francis we find it hard to forgive

¹ *Mirror of Perfection*, ch. x.

Elias ; as students and lovers of Italian art we cannot be sufficiently grateful to him.

For it was Elias¹ who conceived the idea of building the Church, who set about it without loss of time, who secured the site, and collected funds all over Europe ; who enlisted the Pope (Gregory IX) on his side, and himself presided over masons and architects—all in the teeth of fierce opposition from the *Zelanti*, or party of the strict Observance. When these succeeded in deposing him in 1227, he carried on the work just the same ; in 1232 he forcibly “rushed” an election and regained office. But his harsh treatment of the Brethren, his haughtiness, love of delicate living, and other un-Franciscan traits, provoked such bitter feeling in the Order that the Pope was reluctantly compelled, after receiving a powerful deputation who accused Elias to his face, to withdraw his support from his *protégé*. This was in 1239. Elias’s subsequent intimacy with the Emperor Frederick II—that *bête noire* of the Church—his excommunication and retirement to Cortona, do not concern us here. We may, however, remind ourselves that perhaps the second² oldest church built and dedicated in the

¹ For the character and life of Elias (a deeply interesting study), the reader is referred to the *Frère Élie de Cortone* of Dr. Lempp, and to the chapter devoted to him in *Sons of Francis*.

² Very possibly the second. San Francesco a Ripa in Rome,

name of St. Francis, as well as the first, is due to Elias—that built by him at *Cortona*, and still existing. Before his death in 1253, Elias is reputed to have made his submission to the Pope, and to have been reconciled to the Church.

Circumstances seem to have conspired to leave the name of Elias supreme in connection with the building of the Basilica, of which he was the moving and master spirit. For we cannot tell who was its architect. Vasari, indeed, mentions a certain “Jacopo Tedesco,” sometimes called “Alemanni,” but he is quite a shadowy figure, and his supposed German origin renders him suspect, as San Francesco is considered by competent authorities to show many of the characteristics of the architecture of Southern France.¹ Other Convent Churches were erected in Italy about the same time, and shortly before, similar in style; they were probably all built on Cistercian models.² San Francesco had to be adapted to its position on a steep hillside—a difficulty admirably surmounted by the piling of one church upon another, and by the double row of graceful colonnades.

Whoever the first architect and designer of the attached to the convent where St. Francis used to stay, is as old or older, but was originally Benedictine. It is now quite modernized.

¹ Cf. *Story of Assisi*, pp. 124–9.

² Gilbert Hastings, *Siena: its Architecture and Art*, pp. 17 sqq.

Basilica may have been, we know that his plans were partly executed by a young Brother Minor, Philip of Campello, who returned to Assisi in 1257 to build the Church of Sta. Chiara, for which he took San Francesco as his model.

A detailed description of the architecture and history of San Francesco is given by Thode.¹ I propose merely to narrate briefly some of the main facts connected with its construction ; the dates given are according to Lempp (Appendix).

The site for the Church was acquired on 29 March, 1228,² and on 17 July of the same year, immediately following on the Canonization of the Saint, the first stone was solemnly laid by Pope Gregory IX.

By a Bull of 1230, the new Church was declared "Caput et Mater Ordinis." This rendered it more than ever distasteful to the *Zelanti*; not only was its erection, and the taking of money for the purpose, in direct contradiction to their master's teaching, but now it was usurping the place of honour and affection that he had reserved for his

¹ *Franz von Assisi*, pp. 184 seqq.; cf. *Story of Assisi*, ch. iv.

² The deed is printed in Lempp, *Frère Élie*, App., pp. 170, 171. As the land belonged to a private individual, it is most unlikely that it was the spot where criminals were executed (*Collis Inferni*), where, according to a tradition, Francis had desired to be buried.

beloved Portiuncula. They had, no doubt, grieved bitterly that the Saint's body could not be buried in the little Church he loved so well, but that the probability of pious raids on the part of the relic-loving Perugians made it necessary that it should lie within the walled town. A jealousy certainly grew up between the two shrines—the Basilica, of which Elias was the representative, becoming eventually the headquarters of the "Conventuals," the Portiuncula, of which Leo was the representative, becoming that of the "Observants."

Between 1228 and 1230, the building went on rapidly. Popular enthusiasm was great, and funds poured in from all sides, while Elias pushed on the work with tireless zeal. Blocks were taken from old houses near to avoid delay, while neighbouring quarries provided the exquisitely-tinted stone, in all shades of apricot and rose, which contributes so much to the charm of Assisi to-day. By the spring of 1230, the Lower Church was practically completed, and ready to receive the Saint's body, which was to be solemnly translated from the Church of San Giorgio. Just before the day fixed (25 May), Elias had the body secretly conveyed by night to the new Church, and there hidden in the crypt. This extraordinary action created a great scandal at the time, and has never been quite

satisfactorily accounted for, though many explanations have been offered. The simplest, and perhaps the most probable, is that quoted and upheld by Miss Macdonell¹—to wit, that Elias's motive was simply to spite those Brothers who had all along opposed the building of the Church, and had chosen another Minister-General, but who yet thought to take a leading part in this ceremony.

The Church was roofed in, and its interior decoration begun by 1236; the campanile finished, and the great bells cast, in 1239. The Upper Church was consecrated on 25 May, 1253—just a month after the death of Elias!

Among the contributors to the Church were the pious Kings of England and France, Henry III and Louis IX. Successive Popes enriched it with costly presents, relics, etc., and conferred privileges upon it. Various slight additions to the building were made during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

[For a brief account of the *interior*, see the next chapter.]

OTHER FRANCISCAN CHURCHES

Of Franciscan shrines, none are more intimately connected with the early days of the Order, more rich in association with St. Francis himself, than

¹ *Sons of Francis*, p. 167.

the humble Churches of St. Damian and of St. Mary of the Little Portion. Looking on them to-day, one wonders how many of their rough blocks of masonry were actually set in place by his own hands. Neither of them was probably more than a small, plain, oblong building, a simple nave, perhaps ending in an apse, with a pent-house roof. Such is the Portiuncula to-day, such was St. Damian's, if we may judge from Giotto's fresco of St. Francis praying before its Crucifix. Such, too, were many of the lowly village shrines dedicated throughout Central Italy to one or other of the beloved Umbrian Saints, Francis or Clare.

But the churches built in nearly all the great cities for the Brothers Minor by pious and charitable donors were of a far different order. The latter half of the thirteenth century witnessed a rapid increase in the popularity and numbers of both Franciscans and Dominicans, and a rapid erection of churches for their services. Preaching was one of the chief functions of both Mendicant Orders, so that these churches were planned with a special view to it ; they usually consist of a vast, bare nave, where a multitude could assemble with nothing to obstruct their sight and hearing of the preacher, and rows of side chapels flanking the nave, or the high altar, or both—as for example, in San Domenico, at Siena.

These chapels were frequently named after some great family, such as the Strozzi and Rucellai, in Sta. Maria Novella, or the Bardi and Peruzzi, in Sta. Croce, at *Florence*. Such families would commission artists to decorate them, and they would contain their tombs or monuments. Tombs and monuments of illustrious persons—poets, princes, statesmen, and others—are, indeed, a conspicuous feature in the churches of the two Orders, who were allowed to bury the dead in their convent “*Campo Santo*,” a coveted distinction. Thus Sta. Croce deserves its title of “the Westminster Abbey of *Florence*”; thus the Doges and great men of *Venice* lie magnificently sepulchred in the Franciscan Church of Sta. Maria Gloriosa de’ Frari, or the Dominican Santi Giovanni e Paolo (Zanipolo). Thus in the Church of San Francesco, at *Ravenna*, within a few yards from the sometime resting-place of the bones of Dante, we see the marble effigy of the brother of the hapless Francesca da Rimini, Messer Ostasio da Polenta (d. 1396), attired in the Franciscan habit; thus Sigismondo Malatesta, lord of *Rimini*, a man stained with every crime, was, on his death in 1468, laid in the Church of San Francesco in that city, a church he had transformed into a monument of Renaissance splendour, and of his own pride, and had desecrated by its association with his mistress, Isotta. Thus the brilliant young

humanist, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, dying in his prime, was, by his own desire, clad in the Dominican habit, and buried in the convent church of his friend Savonarola, San Marco at *Florence* (1494). Thus, too, the Marchese Francesco Gonzaga, husband of the peerless Isabella d'Este, was attired, according to his express wish, in the Franciscan habit at death, and buried in San Francesco at *Mantua* (1519).

This practice of assuming the habit of one or other Order, immediately before or after death, originated in some cases in genuine devotion to the founder Saint, but too often it was merely a miserable attempt to evade the penalties of sin by formally becoming the Saint's client, and endeavouring to take shelter behind his sanctity. Readers of Dante will recall one historic attempt thus to defraud "the black cherubim."¹

A Franciscan Church can generally be identified by the device of the arms of the Order, painted on the walls, ceiling, etc., or often worked in *intarsia* on choir-stalls or doors. The device, as given by Mr. Carmichael,² is "a Cross of Calvary, traversed by two human arms in saltire, one in bend naked, representing the arm of our Lord, the other in

¹ *Inf.*, xxvii. 112–14; cf. the reference in Milton (*Par. Lost*, Bk. III) to this practice.

² *In Tuscany*, p. 30; (cf. note).

bend sinister, clothed in the habit of St. Francis, both bearing the stigmata."

Among typical examples of churches dedicated to St. Francis we may mention that at *Perugia* (now ruined by earthquake); at *Arezzo*; at *Siena*; at *Bologna*; at *Pistoia*; at *Terni*, and at *Gubbio*. These are all thirteenth-century Gothic, some with later additions. At *Ferrara*, a Renaissance building has replaced the earlier Gothic one, while at *Rimini*, as we have seen, the Church of San Francesco was completely transformed and paganized by Sigismondo Malatesta, about 1447, the architect being Leon Battista Alberti.

In some cities a church already standing was handed over to the Franciscans, as, for example, was the case with Ara Celi at *Rome* in 1252.

The magnificent Church of St. Antony ("Il Santo") at *Padua* has an interior of the usual Franciscan type, though its exterior blends Byzantine with Gothic architecture, like St. Mark's at *Venice*.

Several of the churches have been diverted from their original purpose; for instance, San Francesco at *Montefalco* serves, as we have seen, as a Government picture gallery, while San Francesco at *Parma*, which was built very shortly after the Saint's death, now forms part of the prison! Others have lost the masterpieces originally painted for them; for instance, a pathetic little tablet on San Francesco at

Città di Castello commemorates the fact that Raphael's "Sposalizio," originally painted for it, now adorns the Brera in *Milan*, and San Francesco at the neighbouring *Borgo San Sepolcro* has similarly lost its altarpiece by Sassetta (cf. p. 106).

The vast domed church (Sta. Maria degli Angeli) that so incongruously covers the Portiuncula and its adjoining cells was erected in the sixteenth century.

At *Siena* and *Perugia*, adjoining the Church of San Francesco, is an Oratory of St. Bernardino, supposed to stand on the place where that Saint was wont to meditate and preach. At Siena, its exterior is unpretending, but the Oratory contains fine frescoes by Sodoma and others; at Perugia, the façade is one of the loveliest bits of early Renaissance architecture and sculpture. (Cf. p. 200.)

An exhaustive account of the Franciscan churches in various cities will be found in Thode.¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 305 sqq. *Die Franciscanerkirchen*.

CHAPTER IX

The Lower Church¹—Frescoes dealing with Franciscan subjects—
Giotto's Allegories—The Upper Church

WHEN one first enters the Lower Church, one is overwhelmed by the feeling of its immensity and its gloom. By degrees, as one's eyes become accustomed to the twilight, a figure here and there is seen standing out from the walls, then these are perceived to be entirely covered with frescoes. Their sombre, rich colouring is enhanced by contrast with the clear, jewel-like effect of the stained glass, which is some of the oldest and loveliest in Italy. The vast nave is spanned by a low, wide vaulting, and flanked by a series of side chapels.

I shall not attempt here to give an account of the double Church as a whole, or of its elaborate fresco ornamentation. For such an account, most admirably given, I would refer readers to *The Story of*

¹ The Upper Church is *closed between 12 and 2 daily*, and the Lower also, all except the part of the nave near the entrance. A bright day is necessary for studying the frescoes in the Lower Church; in spring, it is often very cold there.

Assisi. I propose to leave aside all frescoes that are not directly Franciscan, though this does not imply that the remainder are not worthy of study ; the story of St. Martin, for instance, painted by Simone Martini in the chapel named after that Saint, is some of the most fascinating work in the whole Church. But the field, tempting as it is, is too wide for our present purpose, and the traveller with a special Franciscan interest, who is perhaps unable to pay more than one visit to the Church, may find it a convenience to have the Franciscan subjects thus brought together out of the bewildering mass of frescoes.

THE LOWER CHURCH

IN THE NAVE

EARLY REPRESENTATIONS OF THE LEGEND

The earliest of these are the frescoes on the left wall of the nave, representing scenes from the life of St. Francis. They are probably by Giunta Pisano, and may have been painted as early as 1236 ; their execution is clumsy, almost grotesque. They are very much worn away now, but one can just identify the following scenes : The Renunciation before the Bishop ; the Pope's dream ; the sermon to the birds ; the reception of the stigmata ; the death of the Saint. In the "Birds" scene, St. Francis has pale reddish-gold hair, with a darker beard ; he

holds a book. We see here probably the first attempt in art to draw a parallel between the life of St. Francis and the life of Christ, which is portrayed on the opposite wall of the nave.

THE NORTH TRANSEPT¹

I. CIMABUE'S MADONNA WITH ST. FRANCIS

Next in point of time comes the great Madonna in the north (or right) transept,¹ that has always been ascribed to Cimabue; angels surround the throne, and a full-length figure of St. Francis stands at one side. It seems probable that a figure of St. Clare originally balanced him on the other, but was destroyed to make room for later fresco decoration. Although Byzantine influence is still strongly marked in this fresco, we detect in it stirrings of the new life, breath of the "sweet new style." The Madonna is human, and appeals to human hearts as no Byzantine Madonna ever could. The wistful beauty of her expression won special praise from Ruskin, and would be in itself enough to establish Cimabue's fame, could it but be proved to be his. The St. Francis, how-

¹ As this church, owing to its position on the steep hillside, has its high altar at the *west* end, its right transept (reversing the usual order) is on the *north* side, its left on the *south*. They will accordingly be so described here.



MADONNA, WITH ST. FRANCIS

Attributed to CIMABUE
Lower Church, Assisi

To face p. 144

ever, is somewhat disappointing, giving an impression of peevishness and severity that was certainly far from the painter's intention. Here again the hair is reddish, the face is thin, and the chin pointed. The stigmata are shown.

II. FIGURES OF EARLY BRETHREN

Just by this fresco, below the "Crucifixion," are five half-length figures, with upturned faces, said to be portraits of some of the first Brethren. They are of the School of Giotto.

III. THE CRUCIFIXION

In the "Crucifixion" itself, St. Francis and some of his Brethren are introduced, kneeling at the foot of the Cross. The series of scenes from the life of Christ, in which it occurs, have been usually attributed to Giotto ; they bear a strong resemblance to the series in the Arena Chapel, *Padua*. A recent critic, however, has argued that they are by a son of Taddeo Gaddi.¹

IV. HALF-LENGTH FIGURES OF SAINTS, BY SIMONE MARTINI

On the wall adjoining, is a row of half-length figures of Franciscan saints, with a Madonna,

¹ Mr. B. de Sélincourt, in his articles "A Critical Study at Assisi" and "A Further Study at Assisi," *Monthly Review*, October, 1903, and February, 1904.

probably by Simone Martini, whom Mr. Fry has well called "the greatest artist Siena produced, and the dominating figure of the *Trecento*." These lovely frescoes are characteristic Sienese work of the best period, full of delicate charm. To the extreme left is St. Francis, with fair hair and beard and long thin hands. Strangely enough, Simone is least successful with him, rendering him somewhat staring and forbidding.¹ The others are St. Louis of Toulouse, St. Clare, St. Antony of Padua, St. Elizabeth of Hungary (with flowers in her lap), and St. Louis the King.

Very similar figures, also by Simone, line the entrance arch of the Chapel of St. Martin (first to the left on entering the Church); to the left are St. Clare, St. Louis the King, and St. Louis the Bishop; to the right, St. Antony of Padua (damaged) and St. Francis, with one hand raised to bless, the other pointing to his side.

V. CHAPEL OF THE SACRAMENT

Returning to the north transept and entering the Chapel of the Sacrament (or of St. Nicholas), we see over the arch (inside) a fine fresco depicting St. Francis presenting to Christ the kneeling Cardinal

¹ If, however, the half-length figure of St. Francis in Sta. Chiara (Cappella di San Giorgio) be, as is usually supposed, by Simone, this criticism does not apply to that.

Napoleone Orsini (one of the donors of the Chapel). His brother Giovanni is presented by St. Nicholas. This fresco has been ascribed, though incorrectly, to Giottino.¹ In the middle window St. Francis is seen presenting this same Giovanni to Christ.

VI. MIRACLE SCENES

The wall beyond this Chapel (opposite the "Crucifixion") is covered with scenes, attributed to Giotto, of miracles worked by St. Francis after death. The first probably represents the restoration to life of a child of the Spini family of Florence²; the child fell from a window and was killed, but when his parents and the bystanders invoked the aid of St. Francis, the Saint appeared and raised up the child. A similar miracle on behalf of a child at Rome is related by Bonaventura,³ and the fresco may possibly illustrate that, but the Spini story would be more familiar to a Florentine painter. The two adjoining frescoes do probably illustrate another miracle told by Bonaventura⁴ of the boy who was crushed beneath a falling house and drawn out dead; when the aid of the

¹ Cf. *Story of Assisi*, p. 186, note. Also C. and C., vol. ii. p. 199, note 6, where Mr. Langton Douglas also argues against Giottino, though not on chronological grounds.

² An incident also painted by Ghirlandaio (cf. p. 101).

³ Bon., *Miracles*, ii. 4 and 6.

Saint had been invoked and bestowed, he stood up alive and sound.

ST. FRANCIS AND THE SKELETON

Above the staircase in this transept is a figure of St. Francis laying his hand upon a crowned skeleton (cf. p. 68), probably symbolizing his victory over, first, the fear of death, then over death itself.

THE SOUTH TRANSEPT

LORENZETTI'S FRESCOES

The south (or left) transept was decorated by Pietro Lorenzetti¹ of Siena, who shows his customary vehemence of feeling both in the "Crucifixion" and the "St. Francis receiving the stigmata" on the wall opposite. (Notice "Brother Falcon" perched on a rock to the left.) But in his exquisite "Madonna between St. John and St. Francis" (under the "Crucifixion") he is seen at his highest level, and the fresco is fortunately one of the best preserved in the Church. Here St. Francis has a round head, with fair hair and dark eyes; it is quite a youthful type, and evidently a fine idealization rather than an attempt at portraiture.

¹ Vasari ascribed these frescoes to Pietro Cavallini, of the Roman School, but Mr. Langton Douglas denies that there is any work of this artist in the Lower Church. (C. and C., vol. i. p. 96, note 3.)

CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

In the Chapel of St. John the Baptist, opening out of this transept, Pietro Lorenzetti painted a triptych over the altar, in which St. Francis again occurs. On the right wall of this Chapel hangs a large but unattractive picture by Lo Spagna, of the Madonna with SS. Francis, Louis, Clare, and Antony (dated 1526). It is strange that this and two unimportant frescoes are the only contributions of the local Umbrian school to the decoration of the Basilica. One of the others referred to is that near the entrance door of the Lower Church, of the school of Ottaviano Nelli of Gubbio—a Madonna, with St. Francis and other Saints; its tones are hot, and the lines hard.

THE SACRISTY

PORTRAITS OF ST. FRANCIS

In the adjoining sacristy are preserved two pictures of St. Francis that claim to be portraits. That ascribed to Giunta Pisano hangs over the door. For a description and discussion of it *cf.* p. 38. The other is a quite small panel (preserved in the cupboard containing relics, etc.) presented to the Convent by Sir Martin Conway, who bought it at Venice in 1901 (see the inscription on the back). It is supposed to be a copy of one by Melormus

(cf. p. 37), taken in the Saint's lifetime. The hair and eyes are black.

NOTE

[The same cupboard contains the autograph Benediction of St. Francis, which visitors should make a point of seeing. As we are dealing here with Franciscan *Art* only, I must refer the reader to the *Story of Assisi* for a description of this and of other objects of Franciscan interest in the Church, such as the pulpit, the tomb of the Lady Jacoba di Settesoli, and the tomb of St. Francis himself (in the crypt).]

CEILING ABOVE HIGH ALTAR

GIOTTO'S ALLEGORIES

Returning from the south transept, we may now examine the four great allegories by Giotto over the high altar. These are usually considered to be of later date than his series of "Legend" scenes in the Upper Church, and to have been executed about 1300 to 1302. They certainly show a mature power alike in conception and in execution. Crowe and Cavalcaselle—who speak of the Upper Church as Giotto's "laboratory" in which he perfected his style—Sir Martin Conway and Mr. Roger Fry concur in this view; the latter upholds it,¹ with

¹ "Giotto," II (*Monthly Review* for February, 1901), p. 103, note.

considerable force, against Mr. Berenson's theory¹ that it was Giotto's successful treatment of these allegories which induced the Franciscans to entrust him with the work in the Upper Church.

These frescoes represent the Glory of St. Francis, and the three Franciscan virtues—Holy Poverty, Holy Chastity, and Holy Obedience. These virtues were, of course, vowed by most religious Orders, but especial stress was laid upon them by St. Francis, particularly in the matter of the absolute poverty of the community as a whole, no less than of each individual member. The early Church shared all things in common; the Friars Minor shared in common their lack of all things.

Standing with one's back to the high altar, "Obedience" is to one's right, "Chastity" to one's left, the "Glory of St. Francis" directly behind, and the "Poverty" in front of one. One is at once struck by the beauty of the colouring, and of some faces in the groups, and by the masterly manner in which Giotto has adapted these to the triangular spaces between the ribs of the vaulting. Mr. Roger Fry's eloquent description² may be quoted:—

Upon the dusky blue of the vault float on all sides figures robed in golden rose and greenish umbrous white,

¹ Cf. *Story of Assisi*, p. 228.

² "Giotto," II, pp. 104, 105.

while pale pink towers shoot up towards the centre. . . . The effect is as of evanescent forms appearing through a roseate mist, and yet without loss of definition. . . . Conceived in no spirit of dry, didactic allegorizing . . . [they present] a combination of moral earnestness with sensuous enchantment, which shows more clearly than elsewhere the likeness of Giotto to Dante. . . . Indeed, so thoroughly Dantesque are these paintings that Vasari's suggestion of their inspiration by Dante would certainly be accepted if it were not evident that they antedate the *Paradiso* by many years.

This suggestion of Vasari's has been confidently repeated by later writers, whereas—apart from the fact that the frescoes were painted, and Giotto had left Assisi years before the eleventh canto of the *Paradiso* was written—a study of it will reveal what a meagre text it affords for these elaborate allegories. Some ideas or conceits, in the course of conversation or correspondence, the poet may have suggested to his friend the painter (as is believed to have been the case with the allegorical figures in the Arena Chapel, *Padua*), but this was the extent of his “inspiration.”

Nor could Bonaventura serve Giotto as his text here, as in the Upper Church ; his vague story of the Saint's meeting with the three maidens personifying these three virtues, has no relation to the frescoes. (Cf. p. 107.) But in the case of the “St. Francis espousing the Lady Poverty,” which

we may now study, there was a common source from which the painter drew, in all probability, his inspiration for this fresco, and the poet his for his brief but vivid allusion to this mystic union. This was the *Sacrum Commercium beati Francisci cum domina Paupertate*.¹ Critics are divided as to the date and authorship of this exquisite allegory ; on the whole, it seems probable that John of Parma composed it about the middle of the thirteenth century ; but in any case the rival dates are earlier than any suggested for the painting of the frescoes.

However much the romance of voluntary poverty may have appealed to Giotto the artist—and this scene is painted with sympathetic understanding—the evils it entailed were not lost upon Giotto the shrewd man of the world. His only extant poem is a satirical *Canzone* directed against voluntary poverty, which Rossetti² suggests may have been composed as a “safety-valve” for his feelings while working on this fresco !

¹ English translation by Montgomery Carmichael, *The Lady Poverty*. (Murray, 1901.) Cf. *Sons of Francis*, p. 191.

² *The Early Italian Poets*, pp. 298–300, and editorial notes, p. 336. (Temple Classics, Dent, 1904.)

HOLY POVERTY

This is quite the most poetical of the four. The eye is at once drawn to the central group of three figures : Christ, the Priest of this mystic rite ; the youthful Saint, whose face is aglow with an intense and rapt devotion, as he lays his hand in that of the pale Bride ; and the Lady Poverty herself, in tattered raiment, her feet set among thorns and brambles, though above her head these blossom into roses. In the foreground some children cast stones at her. Yes, this is

“she

Whom Francis met, whose step was free,
Who with Obedience caroled hymns,
In Umbria walked with Chastity.”¹

This is she, so ardently espoused, with whom Francis rejoiced that he was able to “keep faith even unto the end.”

Angels throng all round, and two float upwards, carrying a walled garden and a friar’s habit, perhaps symbolising the Church and the Order ; on the right an angel and a friar vainly endeavour to withdraw from their life of self-indulgence two young gallants, who carry a falcon and a money-bag ; on the left, as a contrast, Francis (or a youth following his example) bestows his cloak upon a beggar.

¹ Alice Meynell. Later Poems. “The Lady Poverty.”

GIORGE
Lower Church, Assisi

ST. FRANCIS ESPousing THE LADY POVERTY

To face p. 154



HOLY CHASTITY

In the left corner of this fresco three figures advance eagerly to be received by St. Francis. They typify the three Orders, and the layman has been supposed to be Dante, who, according to tradition, was a member of the Third Order (cf. p. 48). The centre shows the baptism of a novice by angels, while a habit, a banner, and a shield are made ready for him ; to the right, angels, and a figure representing Penitence, are hurling into an abyss the vices and passions, among them a pathetic "Amor," decked with roses and human hearts. Above, in a strongly-guarded and fortified tower, sits the veiled virginal figure of Chastity, while two angels float towards her, bearing a crown and palm-branch.

HOLY OBEDIENCE

In the centre of this fresco is enthroned Holy Obedience, in the Franciscan habit, laying a yoke on the neck of a friar. Prudence and Humility sit on either side ; the former has two faces, and holds a mirror, from which a ray of light falls on a Centaur (probably representing man's lawless nature), and brings it to the ground. An angel leads some novices forward, while, above, St. Francis is drawn up into heaven by his yoke.

THE GLORY OF ST. FRANCIS

The Saint is here seated upon a throne, surrounded by a throng of exulting angels. He holds a banner, as the "Standard-bearer of Christ," and wears black and gold deacon's vestments (cf. p. 49). Over his head is inscribed GLORIOSUS FRANCISCUS. The idea of the throne was no doubt suggested by the legend of Brother Pacifico's vision, wherein it was revealed to him that the throne which Lucifer had forfeited through pride was reserved for the humble Francis (cf. p. 79).

This fresco has been much admired, and the rhythmical movement suggested by the heavenly host, and some of their faces and figures are certainly very beautiful ; but, so far as depicting any Franciscan ideal goes, it seems a lamentable failure. Nothing can be more wooden or stolid than the Saint's figure, and Mr. Berenson seems to me right in contrasting it unfavourably with Sassetta's treatment of the same theme¹ (cf. p. 67). Mr. Roger Fry, however, considers that the face of St. Francis here is "a piece of conscious archaism," because Giotto knew "the hieratic solemnity given by the rigid delineation of Byzantine art."²

¹ "A Sienese Painter of the Franciscan Legend," *Burlington Magazine*, September–October, 1903.

² "Giotto," II, p. 100.

THE UPPER CHURCH

To pass from the solemn twilight, the dim richness of the Lower Church to the lofty-roofed and luminous Upper Church, with the sunlight flooding its vast spaces of emblazoned glass, is indeed a change. The frescoes are, naturally, much easier to study under these conditions ; but damp and, in some cases, the hand of the restorer have worked terrible havoc among them.

The earliest decoration may perhaps have been undertaken by Giunta Pisano ; some of it is evidently by artists of the Roman school. The Doctors of the Church, for instance, on the vaulting, are so classical in style as to suggest the influence of the mosaicists, while some of the Old Testament scenes would appear to be of the school of Pietro Cavallini.¹

LEFT TRANSEPT

Constant tradition has ascribed the great Angels of the transepts, and the "Crucifixion" of the left transept, to Cimabue.² This latter is in a most ruinous state ; but the figure of St. Francis, kneeling at the foot of the Cross, can just be distinguished.

¹ Cf. C. and C., vol. i. p. 96, *note 3*.

² Mr. Fry attributes this to Cimabue. "Giotto," I, p. 146.

VAULTING

TONDO OF ST. FRANCIS

The *tondo* on the vaulting, with a half-length figure of St. Francis, has been often ascribed to Cimabue ; but is more probably by Filippo Rusuti, or some other artist of the Roman school. The head is rounder, and the type more youthful, than in the "St. Francis" of the Lower Church ; the hair is a light brown. The words SANCTE FRANCISCE ORA PRO NOBIS can be deciphered round the head.

The decoration of the Upper Church was probably completed before, or soon after, 1300, as we saw in dealing with the *Legend of St. Francis*, by Giotto (cf. chap. v.).

STAINED GLASS

Reference has already been made to the stained glass,¹ which, in both the Lower and Upper Church, well repays study, for it is both lovely in itself, and also contains many figures of St. Francis and the Franciscan Saints. The colouring is for the most part light, clear, and delicate, rather than deep and rich as in our own cathedrals. There are charming pale blues, greens, and rose-pinks, for example, that strike one as uncommon. In the Lower Church, the window in the Chapel of St. Antony of Padua should be specially noticed. For its scenes

¹ Cf. Thode, *Franz von Assisi*. Appendix, pp. 615 sqq.

from that saint's life *cf.* pp. 171–3. A beautiful little rose-window above it, severe and simple, shews a circle of friars in dove-coloured habits, and cool greens and whites on a deep crimson ground.

In the Upper Church, the last window to the left (near the outer door) should be noticed. In the left half, are scenes from the life of St. Francis : i. (beginning from the top), the reception of the stigmata ; ii., the sermon to the birds ; iii., the supporting of the Lateran ; iv., the healing of a cripple ; v., the Saint praying before the Crucifix.

The right half has scenes from the life of St. Antony.

A window nearly opposite this has a curious design of a small figure of St. Francis, apparently floating in the air before Christ.

CHAPTER X

A Company of Franciscan Saints (Part I)—The first “Companions”—The first Martyrs—St. Antony of Padua—St. Bonaventura

THE Franciscan Saints, it has been said,¹ fall into two classes; the recognized Saints, canonized by the Church, like SS. Antony and Bonaventura, and those early “Companions,” whose chief glory was in the title “We that were with him,” who were canonized as *Beati* by the popular voice (which the Church in some cases followed), and who hold the warmest place in our hearts to-day. For the story of these men we must turn to the pages of the *Fioretti*, which are full of them, not to Italian painting.

Few, indeed, are the pictures we possess to-day of these first Brethren. How eagerly we search them out in the dim frescoes of Lo Spagna and Tiberio d’Assisi at the Portiuncula! Leo, in particular, to whom we owe such an incalculable debt for his revelation of the *Poverello*—how we strain our eyes to distinguish his features among

¹ Cf. *Sons of Francis*, Introd. p. 1.

the shadows cast by centuries of incense and candle smoke ! Some of them—Giles, for instance, Illuminato, Bernard, and Silvester—are to be seen in the medallions with which Benozzo Gozzoli decorated San Francesco at *Montefalco*, a series of vigorously painted heads, which may very probably embody their traditional likenesses. John of Parma, the Minister-General whose manner of life seemed almost that of “a second Francis,” also finds a place here.

Medallion paintings of celebrated Franciscans, including many of these first Brethren, are also to be seen at *Verona*, in the Refectory of San Bernardino. They are by the two Moroni, but the work is hard and crude.

Leo frequently appears in pictures of St. Francis receiving the stigmata, as he was the Saint's companion during his retreat, and is the most important witness to this mysterious event. He usually shields his eyes from the dazzling light enveloping the Seraph; sometimes he looks up in startled fashion from his book. But in such pictures he is merely a typical friar ; there is no attempt at portraiture.

The half-length figures of five early Brethren under the Cimabue “Madonna,” in the Lower Church, *Assisi*, have not been identified. The fresco is Giottesque.

M

A follower of St. Bernardino, the Blessed James of the March (of Ancona), figures in the garb of a pilgrim in a picture by Carlo Crivelli (*Venice*, Acad. 105); in a similar one on a large scale, by the same painter, in the Vatican (Pin. Room I.); and in one by Perugino (*Perugia*, Pin. X. 4), where he holds a pyx and book.

Of that great Minister-General, the inscrutable Brother Elias (cf. pp. 131-3), nothing that can really be called a portrait remains. We know that Giunta Pisano painted a Crucifix in 1236, with Elias kneeling at the foot; it is now lost, but possibly the picture of Elias still preserved at *Cortona*, and a seventeenth-century replica in the *Municipio* at *Assisi*, were more or less copied from it.¹ He is represented as spare and dark-haired.

The five Franciscan missionaries to the Moors, who were martyred on 16 January, 1220, are sometimes represented with knives sticking in their heads, as at San Bernardino, *Verona* (cf. p. 64). The scene of their execution was the subject of one of the Lorenzetti frescoes, now ruined, in San Francesco, *Siena*, and forms the fifth panel of the series by Taddeo Gaddi in the Accademia, *Florence* (I. 117-26; cf. p. 100). It is sculptured on the pulpit at Sta. Croce, *Florence*, by Benedetto

¹ Lempp, *Frère Élie de Cortone*, p. 140, note. (I have not seen these pictures.)

da Maiano (cf. p. 200). Small medallions of these martyrs are to be seen at San Fortunato, just outside *Montefalco*, in the Chapel of St. Antony, decorated by Tiberio d'Assisi (cf. p. 116).

A CONSTANTLY RECURRING GROUP OF SAINTS

It would, of course, be impossible in the space at my disposal to attempt biographies of the Franciscan Saints, but brief notes on some of those most frequently represented in art may be found useful. These Saints are : St. Antony of Padua, St. Louis the King, St. Louis the Bishop, St. Bonaventura, St. Bernardino of Siena, St. Clare, and St. Elizabeth of Hungary. Less frequently represented : St. Margaret of Cortona, and St. Rose of Viterbo. The *Acta Sanctorum* is a store-house of information, with a large element of fable ; it is divided into months, and each Saint may be looked up under the date of his or her death. These dates are given under each Saint's name in the brief notes that follow. St. Antony, who has a *culte* and literature of his own, will require a rather more extended notice than the rest.

Like St. Francis, these Saints are all distinguished by the habit and cord of the Order, and by their bare or sandalled feet. The women usually wear a black veil over the head.

The following are some examples, out of many, of frescoes or pictures containing the above group, or several members of it :—

Assisi. Lower Church. (Over entrance arch to Chapel of St. Martin.) By Simone Martini.

Assisi. Lower Church. (North transept.) By Simone Martini.

Assisi. Lower Church. (Chapel of St. John.) A picture by Lo Spagna.

Bologna. Pin. B. 36. By Annibale Carracci.

Città di Castello. Palazzo Communale. (In a "Coronation of the Blessed Virgin.") By Domenico Ghirlandaio.

Florence. Sta. Croce. (Bardi Chapel, each side of window.) By Giotto.

Florence. Sta. Croce. (Refectory.) In the "Arbor Vitæ." By Taddeo Gaddi.

Milan. Brera. Room I. 76, 78, 80. (Parts of a large *ancona*.) By Vincenzo Foppa.

Milan. Brera. Room II. 160, 165c, 183. (Ditto.) By Niccolò Alunno.

Montefalco. San Francesco. (Choir ceiling.) By Benozzo Gozzoli.

Montefalco. Sta. Illuminata. By Melanzio.

Montefalco (near). San Fortunato. (Chapel of St. Antony.) By Tiberio d'Assisi.

*Naples.*¹ Sta. Chiara. (Refectory.) Giottesque.

Padua. "Il Santo." (Chapel of San Felice.)

Series of tondos over "Crucifixion" fresco. By Altichieri and Avanzo.

Perugia. Pin. VIII. 3. (A *predella*.) By Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

" " VIII. 27. By Luca Signorelli.

" " IV. 4. By (?) Taddeo di Bartolo.

" " V. 21. By Piero de' Franceschi.

*Pisa.*² San Francesco. (Choir ceiling.) By Taddeo Gaddi.

Pistoia. San Francesco-al-Prato. (Chapter-house.) In the "Arbor Vitæ." By Antonio Vite.

Siena. Oratory of St. Bernardino. Single figures, by Sodoma.

Siena. Ist. di B.A. III. 173. By Giovanni di Paolo.

Siena. Ist. di B.A. V. 268. By Sano di Pietro.

Spoletto. Pin. Umbrian School.

Rome. Vatican, Pin. Room III. By Pintoricchio.

Rome. Ara Celi. (First chapel to right on entering.) Altarpiece by Pintoricchio.

Venice. Acad. 164. By Fogolino.

¹ Mentioned by Mr. Langton Douglas. C. and C., vol. ii. p. 94, note.

² I have not seen these.

Venice. Acad. 607. By Alvise Vivarini.

Verona. San Bernardino. (Refectory : end wall.)
By the Moroni.

Verona. Pin. (Room V.) By Morone (originally painted for San Bernardino).

There are also many pictures in which some pair of these Saints are placed together ; while, for instance, either St. Antony, St. Clare, or St. Bernardino is often put as a companion figure to St. Francis. In such cases I have usually given the picture under the lesser Saint's name.

ST. ANTONY OF PADUA (d. 13 June, 1231)

St. Antony of Padua¹ has enjoyed, from his own day until the present, a popularity in Italy only second to that of St. Francis himself. He was, however, not of Italian birth, having been born at Lisbon in 1194 or 1195. His real name was Fernand Martins de Bulhom. He first joined the Augustinians, but was moved to join the Franciscans by his veneration for the martyrs of 1220, and desired to go out himself as a missionary to Morocco. When driven back by fever and tempest, he betook

¹ He must, of course, be distinguished from the venerable hermit, St. Antony the Abbot. For a full account of St. Antony of Padua in art, see Bibliography under C. de Mandach, and Mrs. Bell.

himself to Assisi, and there heard St. Francis. His own wonderful gift of preaching was discovered, and he was sent to France, where his intellectual gifts enabled him to cope successfully with heretics. While there he preached at that Chapter of Arles in 1224 at which St. Francis showed himself miraculously present (cf. p. 87). Giotto twice painted this scene, at *Assisi* and in the *Bardi Chapel*, Sta. Croce, *Florence*; it occurs also in Taddeo Gaddi's panels (*Florence*, Acad. I. 117-26). St. Antony also converted heretics at Rimini, and taught theology at Bologna. A chapel on La Verna commemorates his stay there. But the last two years of his life were mainly passed at Padua, where he became greatly beloved, and won fame as a miracle-worker—"Il Santo," and "Il gran taumaturgo," as with affectionate emphasis he was, and still is, styled. He was at Assisi in 1230 for the translation of the body of St. Francis, but his health was then already failing. He suffered from dropsy, and became rapidly worse during a stay with his friend Count Tiso, on his country estate near Padua, where he had a shelter of branches made for himself, as St. Francis had done before him. He then desired to be carried back to Padua, and died at Cella, a suburb of the city, on 13 June, 1231. He was canonized in the following year.

There is probably no contemporary portrait of

St. Antony. That in "Il Santo," *Padua* (to the left of the choir), which has been traditionally ascribed to a contemporary painter, can be proved, from internal evidence of drapery and modelling, to be of the fourteenth century, and it has been much restored¹; it may, however, very probably embody the traditional type for the Saint. Here, as is usually the case, he is depicted as of about medium height, and youthful; with dark chestnut hair, but no beard, and a pale, somewhat full face; his expression is gentle and thoughtful. We know that, owing to the disease from which he suffered, he became corpulent, and he is usually given a somewhat heavy figure in pictures.

M. de Mandach thinks that perhaps "the most ancient and faithful portrait"² is that in a picture ascribed to Berlinghieri at *Florence* (Acad. I. 101). This may very probably date from a few years after the Saint's death, but its value is lessened by its slavish adherence to Byzantine conventions. (Cf. p. 43.)

Figures of St. Francis and St. Antony occur in the mosaics by Jacopo da Torriti in the apse of St. John Lateran and of Sta. Maria Maggiore at *Rome*, which date from about 1290. In the former, St. Antony has a greyish beard, which is, of course, quite out of place; we suspect the hand of the

¹ Cf. Mandach, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 21.



ST. ANTONY OF PADUA

"Il Santo," Padua

To face p. 168

restorer, and documentary evidence proves the suspicion correct. St. Francis is dark-haired in both. Their figures are smaller than those of the New Testament Saints beside them—SS. Paul, John the Baptist, etc.

A delightful story is told concerning the figure of St. Antony in the Lateran mosaic. Pope Boniface VIII wished to set another Saint there instead, but was forced to desist, as the workmen who attempted to carry out his orders were hurled by an unseen force from the scaffolding !

EMBLEMS OF ST. ANTONY

St. Antony often holds a flaming heart in his hand, in allusion to his consuming zeal ; sometimes a lily—emblem of purity. Sometimes he points to a book, as if expounding it—a gesture he must often have used in preaching. In a picture at *Perugia* (Pin. I. 21),¹ the words INVOCAVI ET VENIT IN ME SPIRITUS SAPIENTIAE ET INTELLECTUS are inscribed on the open pages of the book. St. Antony is looked upon as the protector of beasts of burden, and, according to some writers,² sometimes has a mule kneeling at his feet,

¹ Called in the catalogue “Bonaventura,” but the words S. ANTONIUS can be read on the picture.

² Mrs. Jameson and Mrs. Bell. I do not myself recall any instance of it.

with reference to one of his miracles described below.

A small picture, possibly by Pietro Lorenzetti, in the Vatican Christian Museum (R. VIII), shows Antony taking the Franciscan habit, in the presence of two visibly annoyed Augustinian canons. He is sometimes represented sitting in a tree, as e.g. by Sebastiani at *Venice* (Acad. 104), in allusion to his shelter made of branches.

I suppose that for most of us the principal association of St. Antony (as it is certainly the most beautiful) is with the vision of the Holy Child, who was said to have been laid in the Saint's arms by His Mother, or to have descended and stood upon an open book beside him. We are familiar with the story from the well-known and splendid illustrations of it by Murillo at Seville, and by Van Dyck in the Brera, and from its being a favourite subject with the later Italian and Spanish schools (e.g. the picture by Elisabetta Sirani at *Bologna*. Pin. A. 175). Also from innumerable modern images and statuettes. But the early Italian painters do not seem to have treated it, St. Antony's almost invariable attribute with them being the heart or lily. M. de Mandach¹ suggests that the story is not found in art before the seventeenth century ; the pane on which it occurs in the window

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 191.

of the Lower Church, *Assisi*, has evidently replaced an earlier one.

In these later pictures, where either St. Francis or St. Antony are seen kneeling before or embracing the Holy Child, they are sometimes liable to be confused with one another ; and the same is also true in the case of scenes of preaching, or casting out devils, especially when the figures are small or faded. St. Antony may, however, be usually distinguished by his extreme youth, by being clean shaven, and by his round head, in contrast with the longer, thinner face of St. Francis. The half-obliterated frescoes in a chapel of San Francesco at *Pistoia* (cf. p. 104) probably refer to St. Antony, but nothing can be determined in their present state.

MIRACLE STORIES

St. Antony is the hero of many *naïf* miracle stories. Some series of them illustrated in art are to be found at :

Arezzo. San Francesco. (Chapel of St. Antony.)
By Lorentino Aretino.

Assisi. Lower Church. (Chapel of St. Antony.)
A fine, early stained-glass window.

Assisi. Upper Church. Last window to left,
by outer door.

*Materica.*¹ San Francesco. By Eusebio di San Giorgio.

Montefalco. San Francesco. (Left wall of nave.) By Lorenzo di Viterbo.

*Padua.*² Scuola del Santo. By Titian and others.

Rome. Vatican. Museum of Christian Antiquities. (Case R.)³ Sienese School.

[For these miracle stories in sculpture, cf. p. 201.]

The stories most frequently painted are the following :—

I. THE SERMON TO THE FISHES⁴

When the heretics at Rimini refused to hear the words of the Saint, he turned to address the fishes, and they came together in great numbers, and heard him attentively. The sermon, as given in the *Fioretti*, makes a charming pendant to that preached by St. Francis to the birds. The object lesson had its proper effect upon the heretics.

¹ I have not seen these.

² A magnificent series, deserving close study.

³ Two panels refer to St. Francis; in one, he ministers to three beggars; in the other, he goes through the fire.

⁴ *Fioretti*, ch. xl. The source for the miracles generally is the *Liber Miraculorum* and the *Legenda Sti. Antonii*, the latter composed shortly after his death by an unknown author. (Ed. A. M. Josa. Bologna, 1883.)

In the window of the Lower Church referred to, the fishes stand upright on their tails on a sheet of green glassy water. Another representation is in "Il Santo," Padua (near a door leading to the cloisters). The fresco is dated 1508, its painter unknown. There are fishes of all sorts—crabs, eels, dolphins, etc. A picture by Paul Veronese (*Rome, Villa Borghese Gall.*, 101) also gives the scene; the painter aims at originality of treatment, and sets the Saint on a lofty rock above a great expanse of sea.

II. THE HERETIC'S MULE

When arguing with a heretic, who refused to see in the sacramental wafer the Lord's Body, St. Antony asked if he would be convinced by seeing It adored by a brute beast? The heretic agreed that if his mule, famished as she then was, should turn from the hay offered her to adore the Host, he would be converted. Whereupon the Saint upraised the Host, and the mule knelt reverently before It, refusing to notice the hay.

III. THE HERETIC'S GLASS

This is a somewhat similar story. A heretic, who made light of the miracles of St. Antony, declared it was as impossible that they should be true as that the glass he was holding should fall from a height and remain uninjured. He let it

drop, the fragile vase fractured the marble slab on which it fell, but itself remained unbroken.

A fresco of this scene adjoins that of the Sermon to the Fishes in "Il Santo."

IV. THE USURER'S HEART

St. Antony once pronounced over a dead usurer that his heart was with his treasure, *i.e.* in his money-chests. The body was opened, and no heart found; but when the money-chests were searched, there it lay.

V. THE YOUTH'S LIMB

A youth who, in a fit of anger, had kicked his mother, confessed the deed to St. Antony. The Saint indignantly declared that a limb guilty of such a crime deserved to be cut off. The youth rushed forth, and, taking him at his word, cut off the leg, and was like to bleed to death. His mother with tears besought St. Antony to heal him, and he, making the sign of the Cross over the limb, joined it to the body again.

VI. THE NEW-BORN BABE

A jealous husband had accused his innocent wife of infidelity, and, on the birth of a babe, refused to acknowledge it as his own. St. Antony caused the babe to speak, and declare the man to be indeed its father.

A very impressive scene is that in which the Saint confronts the blood-stained tyrant Ezzelino Romano—that monster whom Salimbene declared had been chosen by the devil for his own friend even as Francis had been chosen by Christ—and by his stern reproofs reduces him to penitence.

Among other scenes, we may mention the miraculous appearance of St. Antony to defend his own father when falsely charged with murder ; his healing of a woman who had been almost killed by a furious husband ; and the discovery, when his tomb was opened by St. Bonaventura, of the eloquent tongue remaining uncorrupted.

Some pictures in which St. Antony appears (other than the groups of Saints, etc., already given) are as follows :—

Bologna. Pin. D. 26. By Bugiardini.

Florence. Acad. Sala del B. Angelico, 265. By Angelico.

Florence. Pitti. Sala di Prometeo. (In a "Marriage of St. Catherine.") Style of Francia. (No number.)

Florence. Uffizi. 1533. Triptych. By Lorenzo di Bicci.

Milan. Brera. VI. 285. By Bissolo.

„ Museo Poldo Pezzoli. 601. By Francia.

„ „ „ „ By Paolo Morando.

Padua. "Il Santo." Over central door. (With St. Bernardino.) By Mantegna.

Perugia. Pin. IV. 5. By Taddeo di Bartolo.
 " Pin. XI. 7. Attributed to Lo Spagna.
 " " XI. 28. Small *tondo*. Peruginesque.
 " " XIII. 25. By Sinibaldo Ibi.

Rome. Vatican. Museum of Christian Antiquities. Case Q. I. (to right of triptych). Also D. XI.

Siena. Ist. di B.A. X. 436. By Benvenuto di Giovanni.

Venice. Acad. 282. (In series of panels.) School of Bonifazio.

" " 93. (In a "Presentation in the Temple.") By Bissolo.

Verona. San Fermo Maggiore. (Chapel to left of High Altar.) By Liberale da Verona.

Andrea della Robbia frequently introduces St. Antony, holding the flaming heart, in his Franciscan groups (cf. chap. xii.).

ST. BONAVENTURA (d. 14 July, 1274)

St. Bonaventura is known as the Seraphic Doctor, and was renowned for his learning and sanctity. His real name was Giovanni di Fidanza; he was born at Bagnorea in 1221, and was brought as a child to St. Francis to be cured. His name is said to

have been derived from St. Francis's exclamation, "O buona ventura!"¹ Bonaventura himself tells us that his devotion to St. Francis arose from his gratitude for this cure. In 1257 he became Minister-General of the Order, and between 1260 and 1263 composed his famous *Life of St. Francis*. Much against his will, he was created a Bishop, and then Cardinal. He died in 1274 at Lyons, but was not canonized until 1482.

St. Bonaventura can be distinguished in pictures by the Cardinal's hat and robes worn together with the Franciscan habit; so far as I know, he is the only Saint in whose case this combination occurs in art. Sometimes he wears a Bishop's mitre and vestments, with the habit. Sometimes the Cardinal's hat hangs on a tree beside him, the story being that the Pope's envoys who brought it found the saint washing up plates, and were requested by him to place it there until his hands were free to take it! He is sometimes represented holding the Host or pyx, in allusion to the legend that an angel once brought him the Host, when out of humility he shrank from approaching the altar. As the author of voluminous sermons and devotional works, and

¹ This derivation is rendered improbable by the fact that various contemporaries bore the same name, e.g. the painter Berlinghieri, and a certain notary at Assisi (mentioned in Lempp, *Frère Élie*, Appendix, p. 172).

in especial of the *Lignum Vitæ*, he is usually seen in the "Arbor Vitæ" pictures (cf. p. 69) with a pen and scroll.

St. Bonaventura figures in one of the medallions by Benozzo Gozzoli in San Francesco, *Montefalco*; in Raphael's "Disputa"¹ in the Vatican *Stanze*; together with St. Francis in a picture by Signorelli at *Milan* (Brera II., 197 bis); and in Sebastiani's picture of St. Antony in the Acad., *Venice* (104); there is a half-length figure of him, by Cavazzola, in the Pinacoteca, *Verona* (V. 294), and a picture by Gessi at *Bologna* (Pin. A. 96) shows him giving life to a still-born infant at Lyons. In the Chapel of Nicholas V. in the Vatican, frescoed by Fra Angelico, there is a full-length figure of him near the door. He has a long grey beard—the Cardinal's hat lies at his feet. Whether intentionally or not, Angelico has placed a figure of Aquinas just opposite him, vividly recalling their courteous emulation in the *Paradiso*. [Mrs. Jameson, however, has a theory that the beard and venerable appearance make it probable that this figure is really a St. Jerome, with the name altered.]

¹ This famous fresco contains several Franciscans, but with nothing, except in the case of St. Bonaventura, to identify them. The second figure to the right of the altar, of whom only the head and shoulders are seen, may very possibly be St. Francis, the kneeling figure to the left, St. Antony.



ST. LOUIS THE KING AND ST. LOUIS THE BISHOP

SIMONE MARTINI
Lower Church, Assisi

To face p. 178

CHAPTER XI

A Company of Franciscan Saints (Part II)—St. Louis the King
—St. Louis the Bishop—St. Bernardino—St. Clare—St.
Elizabeth—St. Margaret of Cortona—St. Rose of Viterbo

ST. LOUIS THE KING (d. 25 August, 1270)

ONE of the most romantic and charming figures in Franciscan pictures is St. Louis the King—Louis IX of France (*Ital. San Lodovico Rè di Francia*). He was born in 1215, and, under the care of his widowed mother Blanche, grew up deeply religious. He entered the Third Order of St. Francis, and was a devoted friend and patron of the Brothers Minor. A pretty legend, for which there is unfortunately no foundation, relates how he visited Brother Giles in his convent at Perugia.¹ Unlike his contemporary, the pious and friar-loving Henry III of England, he was a wise ruler. But he is, of course, chiefly known as a Crusader, more heroic than fortunate. He died while in the East in 1270, and was canonized in 1297.

St. Louis is sometimes depicted holding the Crown

¹ *Fioretti*, ch. xxxiv.

of Thorns, because part of this relic and of the true Cross were given to him by Baldwin II, Emperor of Jerusalem, and he built the Sainte Chapelle in Paris to enshrine them. He usually wears a slender gold circlet over his fair flowing hair, and a blue mantle, embroidered with *fleurs-de-lys*, over the Franciscan habit. His gracious youth, his gallant yet pensive bearing, are nowhere better portrayed than by Simone Martini at *Assisi* (cf. p. 146). Special praise is given by Ruskin¹ to Giotto's figure of him in the Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce. In addition to the groups mentioned in the last chapter, in several of which St. Louis appears, he is seen in two pictures at *Siena*, Ist. di. B.A. IX. 366 (by Pacchiarotto) and X. 436 (by Benvenuto di Giovanni). Also in a "Meeting of Joachim and Anna," by Carpaccio in the Acad., *Venice*.

ST. LOUIS THE BISHOP (d. 19 August, 1297)

St. Louis, Bishop of Toulouse (*Ital.* San Lodovico Vescovo di Tolosa), stands side by side with his royal and saintly namesake in Simone's frescoes and in many other pictures. He was King Louis' nephew, being the son of Charles of Anjou, King of Sicily. Born in 1274, he spent some years of his childhood as an hostage in Catalonia. Of his early ministrations to the poor and the lepers many

¹ *Mornings in Florence*, Part I.

stories are told. On his father's death in 1294 he was proclaimed king, but preferred to resign his rights to his younger brother Robert, and himself withdrew to a Franciscan convent. When visiting the newly-built Convent of Sta. Croce in Florence, he found that the *frati* had prepared a splendid room for him, with a gilded bed, and walls hung with the arms of France and Sicily. But the Saint would have none of it, pronouncing it no fit cell for a Brother Minor. Sorely against his will, he was made Bishop of Toulouse, but died, from fatigue contracted while fulfilling his duties, in August, 1297, at the early age of twenty-three. He was canonized in 1317.

St. Louis of Toulouse generally wears a mitre and Bishop's vestments over his brown habit, and carries a crozier. He may be distinguished from St. Bonaventura—who, as we have seen, is often similarly represented—by his very youthful appearance, and by the *fleurs-de-lys* on his robes. (The two occur together in the Della Robbia “Madonna della Cintola” at La Verna; cf. p. 208.) The crown that he resigned is usually seen lying at his feet. He is one of the patron Saints of Perugia (hence, probably, the story alluded to above of King Louis' visit), and Bonfigli has painted scenes from his life in the Chapel of the Priors' Palace at Perugia, now Sala II of the Pinacoteca. Ruined as they are,

these frescoes still breathe some of their original charm. The consecration of St. Louis, his burial, and a miracle scene in which he reveals to a merchant that some gold, lost at sea in a storm, has been swallowed by a fish, can just be distinguished.¹

Some other pictures in which St. Louis appears are :—

Milan. Brera. VII. 322. By Bonifazio Venezi-an. (The Saint is giving alms.)

Naples. San Lorenzo Maggiore. By Simone Martini. (I have not seen this.)

Perugia. Pin. IV. 5. By Taddeo di Bartolo.

Rome. Vatican. Pin. III. By Perugino.

Rome. Vatican. Mus. of Christian Antiquities. D. XI. and Q.I. (The word *REX* in the latter is inscribed by mistake, as Louis wears a mitre, the crown lying at his feet.)

Siena. Ist. di. B.A. I. 49. (Half-length.) School of Duccio.

„ „ III. 169. By Sassetta, (Stefano di Giovanni.)

„ „ V. 266. By Sano di Pietro.

Venice. Ducal Palace. (Sala del Collegio.) By Tintoretto.

Venice. Acad. 308. (In an "Adoration of the Kings.") School of Bonifazio.

For a fresco at Sta. Croce, cf. p. 99.

¹ For a full description, cf. *The Story of Perugia*, pp. 241, 242.



ST. BERNARDINO PREACHING AT SIENA

SANO DI PIETRO
Duomo, Siena

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ST. BERNARDINO OF SIENA (d. 20 May, 1444)

St. Bernardino was born of a noble family at Massa, in the Sienese *contrada*, in 1380. He early gave himself up to solitary contemplation and prayer, coming forth in the terrible visitation of the plague in 1400 to render devoted service to the sufferers. He entered the Franciscan Order at the age of twenty-three, and became one of the leaders of a reformed branch of it founded in 1368, the *Osservanti*,¹ so called from their observance of the Rule in its primitive simplicity and austerity. St. Bernardino gained an immense influence over the turbulent, luxurious Italian cities—his own Siena in particular—by his burning eloquence and saintly life. Like St. Francis before him, he travelled about preaching and peacemaking ; it was his custom to hold in his hands while preaching a tablet bearing the sacred monogram I H S surrounded by golden rays, and this is his usual emblem in art. Everywhere crowds were moved to penitence by his words, and made “Bonfires of Vanities,” just as the Florentines did about half a century later under Savonarola. Bernardino refused more than one offer of a bishopric. He died at Aquila in 1444, and was canonized in 1450.

St. Bernardino is ordinarily depicted as a slight,

¹ Cf. Tocco, *Gli Ordini Religiosi e l'Eresia*, p. 332. Milan, 1891.

spare man, with greyish hair and a pointed chin, with a curious contraction of the mouth, as though he had lost many teeth. His expression is serene and benevolent.

With the artists of his native Siena, St. Bernardino is, naturally, a great favourite, dividing the honours with St. Catherine. Sano di Pietro, "the Fra Angelico of Siena," painted him repeatedly. Two very interesting pictures by this artist at *Siena* show the saint preaching there in the open air ; one hangs in the Palazzo Pubblico, one in a sacristy of the Duomo. A similar picture, attributed to Vecchietta, was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club in 1904 ; the background was a stately Renaissance building.

Some other pictures in which St. Bernardino occurs are :—

Assisi. San Damiano. (Open chapel in fore-court.) By Tiberio d'Assisi.

Florence. Uffizi. No. 1542. On the frame of a large triptych by Vecchietta.

Gualdo Tadino.¹ San Francesco. By Niccolò Alunno.

Milan. Brera. II. 170. By Bonsignori.

Montefalco (near). San Fortunato. (Lunette over door.) With Madonna and St. Francis. Umbrian School.

¹ Near Foligno. I have not seen this.

Padua. "Il Santo." (Over door.) With St. Antony.
By Mantegna.

Perugia. Pin. V. 34. (On the *predella.*) By Benozzo Gozzoli.

" " VII. 4. (With Madonna and St. Francis; much injured.) By Bonfigli. For VII. 10, see below.

" " VIII. 5. Attributed to Fiorenzo di Lorenzo.

" " XI. 14. By Perugino. (Cf. p. 64.)

" " XIII. 20. By Eusebio di San Giorgio.¹

" " Sala di Giannicola. 27. By Giannicola Manni.

Rome. Ara Celi. (First chapel to right on entering. Altarpiece by Pintoricchio. (Cf. p. 165.)

" Doria Gallery. No. 144. By Garofalo.

Siena (see above). Palazzo Pubblico. (Sala del Gran Consiglio.) By Sano di Pietro.

" Ist. di B.A. III. 190. By Giovanni di Paolo.

" " III. 203. By Pietro di Giovanni.

" " III. 204 and 205.² By Vecchietta.

¹ The traditional type is here modified.

² This is inscribed **MANIFESTAVI NOMEN TUUM HOMINIBUS.**

Siena. Ist. di B.A. IV. 228 and 237. By Sano di Pietro.

" " " V. 253,¹ 255, 269, 270, 271. All by Sano di Pietro.

" " " X. 441. By Bernardino Fungai.

Terni. Pin. In a "Crucifixion" by Niccolò Alunno. (He stands weeping, but the expression is overstrained.)

Venice. Ducal Palace. (Sala del Collegio.) (He presents a kneeling Doge.) By Tintoretto.

On a large *gonfalone* by Bonfigli in the Pinacoteca, *Perugia* (VII. 10), St. Bernardino stands before Christ, holding the monogram, while small figures of penitents are (apparently) kindling a fire in the foreground below.

St. Bernardino was not deficient in miracles of the approved type—recoveries from drowning and other accidents, etc. A series of these, most daintily illustrated by Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, hangs in a cabinet of the Pinacoteca, *Perugia*. Other series are: Nos. 28 to 31 in Room V of the same gallery.

Arezzo. San Francesco. (Right wall, near door.)

Arezzo. Pinacoteca. On the *predella* of a picture by Neri di Bicci.

¹ See p. 185, note 2.

Montefalco. San Francesco. (Right wall of nave.) By Mezzastris.

Rome. Ara Celi.¹ (First chapel to right on entering.) By Pintoricchio.

The lower scene on the left side of this chapel seems to represent a combination of two miracles. In the background is seen the bull that ran loose among the crowds when the Saint was once preaching at Prato, and injured a young man so terribly that he was given up for dead, but restored by the prayers of Bernardino; in the foreground the Saint's body is seen on a bier, and an infant lies on the ground near it, probably referring to one of the many cures wrought at the time of his death, several of which were of young children.

An incident sometimes depicted is that of the Saint and his companion crossing some water near Mantua on their outspread habits, a sailor having refused to convey them over free, and they being without money.

For the Oratory of San Bernardino, perhaps the loveliest building in *Perugia*, see p. 141 and p. 200. For his Oratory at *Siena*, see p. 141.

St. Bernardino is frequently found in groups by the Della Robbia.

¹ The Saint used to stay in the convent there

ST. CLARE (d. 11 August, 1253)

A peculiar interest attaches to the gracious figure of St. Clare, the first woman to follow the new life marked out by Francis, his first spiritual daughter, who herself became the Mother of the "Poor Ladies," or "Poor Clares," as the Franciscan Sisters were called. Their Rule, like that of the Brethren, was one of absolute poverty, and, after the death of St. Francis, St. Clare triumphantly maintained it in its literal original sense, against the persuasions of Popes and the influence of many around who were seeking to relax or modify it. It is tempting to relate her story at more length than space here permits, but I must refer my readers to the beautiful chapter (ix.) devoted to her in *The Story of Assisi*.

Briefly, St. Clare was born in 1194, of the noble Assisan family of Scifi (or Scefi), to which Rufino, one of the "Three Companions," also belonged. When but a girl of eighteen she was deeply moved by the example and preaching of Francis, and begged him to help her that she too might live "after the manner of the Holy Gospel." After testing her sincerity, Francis agreed to receive her. She left home one night, accompanied by her aunt, and was met by the Brethren at the Portiuncula, where she took the solemn vows and put on the



ST. CLARE REPELLING THE SARACENS

The Sforza Book, British Museum

To face p. 188

habit. Her father, who had expected her to make a grand marriage, was furious, but found that he could not shake her purpose. After a brief residence in a Benedictine nunnery, where she was joined by her sister Agnes and others, St. Francis established her and them at St. Damian's, in a humble building adjoining the little church that had been largely rebuilt by his own hands. Here Clare ruled as Abbess until her death in 1253, much beloved by all the Sisters, and a lifelong friend of the gentle Leo, who wrote out for her the Breviary that may still be seen at St. Damian's. To Francis she was a constant source of strength and inspiration in many hours of discouragement and bodily weakness. It was in a hut in her garden that the exquisite "Song of Brother Sun" was composed, and one of the most golden chapters of the *Fiores* tells of that simple and holy *festa* made for her at the Portiuncula, when Francis was rapt in things divine, and an unearthly light shone round the little company at their untasted meal. Strangely enough, I can only recall one illustration of this story, that by Giolfino, in San Bernardino, *Verona*. (First chapel to right on entering, left wall, top row.)

A most extraordinary interruption to St. Clare's quiet life came in the year 1234, when some Saracen troops from Frederick II's army were marching

through Umbria, and determined to sack Assisi. The story goes that, as they were preparing to scale the walls of St. Damian's, Clare appeared at a window, holding a pyx containing the Blessed Sacrament, and that at the sight the enemy fell back panic-stricken, and took to flight. There are remains of a rough fresco depicting this event still to be seen round the window, and there is a picture of it in the Pinacoteca, *Bologna* (C. 113), by Lucio Massari, and another at *Siena* (Ist. di B.A. I. 4) by an unknown artist of the thirteenth century. An extremely fine illumination in the *Sforza Book* (f. 210)—one of the treasures of the British Museum MSS. room—also gives the scene. It is Milanese work of the end of the fifteenth century.¹

Another scene in St. Clare's life is that in which at the Pope's command she blessed some loaves, and the sign of the Cross appeared upon them forthwith.

In one of the panels by Semitecolo at *Venice* (cf. p. 102) she is seen receiving the habit; and quite one of the most beautiful frescoes (though now much damaged) of the Upper Church, *Assisi*, shows St. Clare and her Sisters mourning over the dead body of St. Francis (cf. p. 91).

¹ I am indebted to Miss Evelyn Underhill for a knowledge of it.



ST. CLARE

ALVISE VIVARINI
Accademia, Venice

To face p. 190

St. Clare sometimes carries a Cross and book, or a lily, but more usually the pyx, with reference to the story of the Saracens.

A full-length figure of the Saint, sometimes called a portrait, is preserved at Sta. Chiara, *Assisi*, in the Chapel of St. Agnes (to left of nave). It is traditionally ascribed to Cimabue, but has been much repainted, and is somewhat stiff and wooden. It is dated 1283, and has small scenes from her life down the sides.

This Church (originally San Giorgio) was frescoed by Giottino with scenes from St. Clare's life, but nothing can now be seen of them.¹ (The monochromes in the crypt are modern.)

The best presentment of St. Clare in youth is given us by Simone Martini in his frescoes of the Lower Church; of St. Clare in later life, by Alvise Vivarini in his picture in the Academy, *Venice* (No. 593). The combination of strength of will and of benevolence in the face is very striking. Some other pictures of St. Clare are :—

Arezzo. Pinacoteca. By Luca Signorelli.

Assisi. Sta. Chiara. Ceiling. (With other virgins.) By (?) Giottino.

Assisi. Sta. Chiara. (Chapel to right [the old San Giorgio], behind altar.) Sienese School, probably Simone Martini.

¹ The crucifix from St. Damian's (cf. p. 75) is preserved here.

Assisi. San Damiano. (Open chapel in fore-court.) By Tiberio d'Assisi. (A beautiful figure.)

Padua. "Il Santo." Chapter-house. Probably by Giotto.

Parma. Pin. 169. By Annibale Caracci.

Parma. Pin. 165. By Guercino.

Perugia. Pin. I. 10. Small panel attributed to Giunta Pisano.

Perugia. Pin. Sala di Giannicola. 24. Attributed to Berto di Giovanni.

Rome. San Cosimato.¹ Fresco to left of altar.

Umbrian School. (? Pintoricchio.)

Rome. Corsini Gallery. 708. By Niccolò da Foligno.

Rome. Vatican. In two pictures, for which cf. below (St. Elizabeth).

ST. ELIZABETH OF HUNGARY (d. 19 November, 1231)

This Saint is often a companion figure to St. Clare; like her, she is represented as a gentle and fair maiden in the habit of the Order, having become a Tertiary in 1228. She generally wears a circlet on her head, and has sometimes a royal robe;

¹ San Cosimato is well worth a visit for its old-world cloisters, full of flowers. It was a convent of Poor Clares, but is now almshouses. The fresco has all the Umbrian charm, although, *pace* Mrs. Jameson, it is certainly *not* a Perugino.

she holds roses in her hand or lap, in reference to the well-known story of the loaves that she was dispensing to the poor having been changed into roses that she might escape her husband's censure.

St. Elizabeth was born in 1207, of the royal family of Hungary, and was betrothed in early childhood to the young Landgrave of Thuringia, and brought up at that Court. She was noted for her early piety and charities, and for the devotion with which all through her life she personally tended the sick and poor. She had a passionate love for children. On her husband's death, while absent on the Third Crusade, his brothers banished her and seized the throne, while the young widow gave herself up to good works and austerities under her spiritual director, Conrad of Marburg. The fame of her saintliness increased, and, on her death in 1231, her body was almost torn to pieces by the crowd to furnish relics.

The figure of St. Elizabeth occurs among those in the Bardi Chapel, Sta. Croce, and in the Lower Church, *Assisi*, already alluded to ; among those by Lo Spagna in the choir of the Chapel of the Roses (*Portiuncula*), it is specially beautiful. There is a fresco of her in San Francesco, *Arezzo* (left wall). She is seen on the *predella* of a large polyptych in the Vatican Pinacoteca (Room I.), and in a beautiful little picture in the Vatican Christian Museum (left

o

wall. Case IV. 10. Sienese School). In both of these she is with St. Clare.

The foregoing are the most illustrious Saints connected with the Franciscan Order. There are, however, other Saints and *Beati* connected with its various branches who sometimes find a place in art. Of these I have selected two, St. Margaret of Cortona and St. Rose of Viterbo, as belonging to Central Italy and to the thirteenth century, and as thus having links with the first days of Franciscanism. Their popularity is more local than that of the Saints whom we have been considering.

ST. MARGARET OF CORTONA
(d. 22 February, 1297)

St. Margaret of Cortona¹ is the Magdalene of the Franciscans. Born in 1247, at Laviano, near Lake Trasimene, she was early driven by her stepmother's cruelty into evil courses, but was arrested in them by the tragic murder of her lover. Her little dog guided her to the spot where his mangled body lay, and the terrible sight moved her to remorse and repentance. She sought her old home with her little son, but finding no mercy from her stepmother, betook herself to the convent of the

¹ Cf. L. de Chérancé, *Ste. Marguerite de Cortone*.

Brothers Minor at Cortona, and sought admission to the Order as a penitent. After some demur her request was granted, and she took the habit as a Tertiary in 1276. It was believed that a Crucifix (now preserved in the church dedicated to her at Cortona) stooped towards her as she prayed, in token of forgiveness and approval. After a life of penance and contemplation, during which she was favoured by divine visions and miraculous powers, she died on 22 February, 1297. Giovanni Pisano and his assistants were employed to build in her honour the vast church that crowns wind-swept, desolate Cortona, and Ambrogio Lorenzetti decorated it with frescoes from her life. It has unfortunately been completely modernized during the last century.

For the bas-reliefs on the tomb, cf. p. 199.

Mrs. Jameson states that her little dog is sometimes introduced in pictures of St. Margaret. I can only recall two pictures (apart from some of the groups mentioned in the last chapter), in which her figure occurs:—an “Assumption of the Blessed Virgin,” by Andrea del Sarto, in the Pitti, Florence (originally painted for the Duomo at Cortona), and the “St. Margaret” of Guercino, in the Pinacoteca of the Vatican (Room III). Guercino has obviously borrowed her attitude from that of Sodoma’s “St. Catherine” at Siena.

ST. ROSE OF VITERBO (d. 8 May, 1258)

A strange contrast to the tragic and stormy figure of St. Margaret, vehement alike in sin and in contrition, is the gentle girl-saint, whose years only numbered eighteen, but who by her inspired words and healing power won the love and veneration of her fellow-citizens—St. Rose of Viterbo.¹ She was born in 1240, and while yet a child was said to have wrought miracles of healing. Doves and other birds were wont to fly to her lap, and she had visions of the Saviour. During an illness, she was bidden by the Blessed Virgin to take the Franciscan habit. The people of Viterbo were moved by her piety and exhortations to expel the garrison of the excommunicated Emperor Frederick, whose death St. Rose foretold. Some heretics procured her exile, but she was afterwards successful in winning many of them over. After her death in 1258, her body, on its removal to the church built in her honour at Viterbo, was said to be found uncorrupted, and miracles of healing were still worked through her.

This church is frescoed by Benozzo Gozzoli with scenes² from the life of St. Rose, but I have not

¹ Cf. Nardi, *Vita di Sta. Rosa Viterbese* (1687).

² For a description, see Cristofori, *Memorie Serafiche di Viterbo*, pp. 44 seqq.

seen them. Benozzo also introduces her figure on the vaulting of San Francesco, *Montefalco*, as Giottino had done on that of Sta. Chiara, *Assisi*. She appears in an "Assumption" by Fra Paolino da Pistoia at *Florence*. (Acad. III. 71.)

CHAPTER XII

The Franciscan Saints in Sculpture—In Della Robbia reliefs

WE have seen how the Franciscan movement of the early thirteenth century kindled the imagination and called forth the nascent powers of the painters, while at the same time giving an immense impulse to architecture. When we turn to sculpture, we find that it, too, was freely used in the service of the Friars Minor, and of the rival Order of Preachers. Craftsmen of the Middle Ages were frequently architects and sculptors in one, *e.g.* the Pisani and Orcagna, and might both build a church, and design and carve the monuments inside it.

Just as we have found countless pictures of St. Francis painted by unskilful and often unknown artists to satisfy the demands of popular devotion, so, too, we find many statues of him, often rudely sculptured, and by unknown provincial craftsmen. Such statues would be intended to stand above the door, or over the altar, of Franciscan convents and churches, as, for example, a somewhat forlorn figure of the Saint does still look down from the

façade of the half-ruined, but newly restored, Church of San Francesco at Siena.

A Gothic tomb adjoining the Scuola del Santo at Padua is an example of sculpture of the rude and archaic sort ; it may very well date from the end of the thirteenth century. Above it are two small half-length figures of SS. Francis and Clare, with their names carved below. St. Francis has long thin hands and thin face and prominent ears.

Some of the more notable representations of Franciscan Saints and legends in sculpture will be described here, concluding with an account of Della Robbia works in which they occur.

THE TOMB OF ST. MARGARET OF CORTONA

The first stone of the great church dedicated to "Margaret the Penitent" at Cortona (cf. p. 195) was laid in the year of her death, 1297. Giovanni Pisano, its chief architect, is usually supposed to have sculptured the fine bas-reliefs on her tomb. I know them only from the excellent reproductions in the Life of the Saint by the R. P. Léopold de Chérancé. (See Bibliography.) They represent St. Margaret taking the habit ; St. Francis obtaining her pardon from Christ ; St. Margaret bestowing her habit on a poor woman ; her son embracing the religious life ; the death of St. Margaret, and

two miracles of healing. Above them is a recumbent figure of the Saint under a canopy.

THE ORATORY OF ST. BERNARDINO AT PERUGIA

The exquisite decorations, in delicately coloured terra-cotta and marbles, on the façade of this Oratory make it a gem of "pictorial sculpture." (Cf. p. 141.) They were begun in 1461, and are from the hand of the Florentine sculptor Agostino di Duccio. In these reliefs, and in the somewhat similar ones that he executed in San Francesco at Rimini, Agostino leaves an almost unparalleled impression of refined grace and lyrical movement ; he incarnates the spirit of the early Renaissance, he is the Botticelli of sculpture. And, like Botticelli, he has a slight affectation and "preciousness," a tendency to make his figures too long and slender. The decoration of the façade comprises a fine figure of St. Bernardino, surrounded by fluttering angels, over the door ; other angels playing on musical instruments ; lovely symbolic figures of Virtues, and smaller panels illustrating the life and miracles of the Saint.

THE PULPIT AT STA. CROCE, FLORENCE

This has been called "the most beautiful pulpit in all Italy," and although, when we recall the



SANCTION OF THE RULE

BENEDETTO DA MAJANO
Pulpit, Sta. Croce, Florence

To face p. 200

glorious competitors at Pisa and Siena, we may feel that such a title properly belongs to one of them, it would be difficult to over-praise it. It is the finest work of Benedetto da Majano (1442-97), who here shows a perfect mastery over his material. The scenes are depicted with admirable simplicity, and the limits proper to sculpture are observed in a way that Ghiberti, for example, did not always observe them in his Baptistry gates. The pulpit is five-sided, the five reliefs being as follows :—

1. St. Francis before the Pope.
2. St. Francis before the Soldan. A specially fine figure of the Saint, and of his companion, whose hands are crossed on his breast, and whose face expresses admiration and faith.
3. St. Francis receiving the stigmata.
4. The death of St. Francis. The scene has never been more movingly represented, with the quiet reverence and sorrow of the bystanders.
5. The martyrdom of the first Franciscan missionaries in Morocco (cf. p. 162).

MARBLE AND BRONZE RELIEFS IN “IL SANTO,” PADUA

The miracles of St. Antony are illustrated in two series of reliefs in the church dedicated to him at Padua : I. In bronze, on the High Altar (back

and front), by Donatello, executed between 1446 and 1450; II. In marble, in the Cappella del Santo¹ (left transept), by Tullio Lombardo, Sansovino, and others, executed in the first half of the sixteenth century.

These latter are in high relief and very classical in style. Both series include the miracles of the new-born babe given speech; of the mule adoring the Host; of the miser's heart, and of the youth's severed limb (cf. pp. 173-4).

Donatello also made the life-size bronze statues of SS. Francis and Antony above the High Altar. The face of St. Francis is too classically severe and intellectual, but the figure is full of dignity.

Some single figures of Franciscan Saints that have not been mentioned elsewhere are:—

Florence. Sta. Croce (over door, inside). St. Louis of Toulouse. By Donatello (a late and feeble work).

Padua. Il Santo (in niches of entrance door). SS. Francis, Louis of Toulouse, Antony, and Bonaventura.

Rome. Sta. Maria del Popolo. (Fourth chapel to right; over a fifteenth-century altar.) St. Antony.

Siena. Duomo. (Fourth altar to left.) St. Francis. By Michelangelo and Torrigiani.

¹ St. Antony is buried beneath the altar of this chapel.

Venice. Redentore. (Over high altar.) St. Francis.
In bronze. By Girolamo Campagna (circ. 1595).

Verona. Sant' Anastasia. (First altar to left.)
St. Francis. In coloured terra-cotta.

Verona. San Bernardino. (Over door.)¹ St.
Bernardino. By Cavazzola.

Thode² mentions fourteenth-century reliefs of
the legend of St. Francis by Piero and Paolo delle
Massegne on the High Altar of San Francesco,
Bologna. I have not seen these.

THE DELLA ROBBIA

But it is to the Della Robbia, and to Andrea della Robbia in especial, that we owe the most beautiful figures of St. Francis and the Franciscan Saints. One has but to recall the magnificent series of their works at the great Franciscan sanctuary of La Verna, the exquisite statue of St. Francis in that other sanctuary, the Portiuncula, and the matchless altarpiece in the Church of the *Osservanza*, near Siena, to realize the truth of this statement. And these are but a few of the Della Robbia works executed for Franciscan churches or patrons.

Luca, the founder of the *bottega*, and discoverer of

¹ In the lunette is a relief of St. Francis receiving the stigmata,
in which the seraph is a child.

² Thode, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

the process of moulding figures in glazed terra-cotta, has not, so far as I am aware, left any authentic work in which a figure of St. Francis or other Saint of the Order appears. But with regard to Andrea, his brother and successor, Miss Cruttwell—in her exhaustive work on the Della Robbia,¹ to which I must here express my profound indebtedness—observes : “It would seem as though Andrea had a special devotion to the *culte* of San Francesco. His many representations of him are among the most deeply felt of his figures, and . . . for the Convent of La Verna, where the memories of the Saint have special significance and interest, he has put forth his utmost strength, and touched a higher point of grandeur than without these Verna works we should have judged him capable of reaching.” A few pages further on, she speaks of “This Saint, with whose personality he [Andrea] seemed to have such sympathy. . . . This sensitive face, gentle yet ascetic, which accords so well with the spirit of the *Floretti*.²”

The last sentence exactly describes Andrea’s type for St. Francis. The Portiuncula statue is his *vera effigie* as no Byzantine so-called portrait can ever be. It is true that it only represents one aspect of the Saint, not the chivalrous “minstrel of

¹ *Luca and Andrea della Robbia, and their Successors.* Dent, 1902.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 160, 167.



ST. FRANCIS

ANDREA DELLA ROBBIA
Sta. Maria degli Angeli, Assisi

To face p. 204

the Lord," the youthful and fervent spouse of the Lady Poverty, but the Francis of the later years, worn with toil and sickness, sad at heart, perhaps—with a wonderful appeal in every line of the expressive face. "*S'è appassionato molto,*" murmured one of the *frati*, as we stood one day looking up into it. And he said well.

Andrea's working period was from 1463 to 1510. The manufacture was carried on by his nephew Giovanni from 1489 to 1529, at first under Andrea's direction. With the ever-increasing supply of works to meet an ever-increasing demand, there was, as might be expected, a deterioration in their quality—a tendency to repeat what had already given satisfaction, and to add trivial and superfluous ornaments. The later works that issued from the *bottega* were quite unworthy of the name they bore. Of this class are some of the fifteen reliefs on La Verna; but some of them, on the other hand, are among the very finest examples of the Della Robbia—the "Annunciation" and "Ascension," for example, as well as some in which the figure of St. Francis is introduced.

The list below comprises only works in which Franciscan Saints appear, but it is hoped that it will be found fairly complete so far as these are concerned. It is arranged alphabetically.

**LIST OF DELLA ROBBIA WORKS
IN WHICH FIGURES OF FRANCISCAN SAINTS
ARE INTRODUCED**

AREZZO. *Duomo.* Cappella della Madonna.

A “Trinity,” with St. Bernardino (one of the patron saints of Arezzo) kneeling to the right. By Andrea, with assistants.

AREZZO (just outside city). *STA. MARIA DELLE GRAZIE.*

An elaborate altar in marble and glazed terracottas; to the right, a fine figure of St. Bernardino, holding a book and Cross. By Andrea, with assistants.

ASSISI. *STA. MARIA DEGLI ANGELI.* (Portiuncula.)
Cappella di San Giuseppe.

An altarpiece, triptych, the centre by Andrea, side-panels probably by Giovanni. To the left, St. Francis receiving the stigmata.

ASSISI. SAME CHURCH. Cappella di San Bonaventura.
(*i.e.* Infirmary cell where St. Francis died.)

Statue of St. Francis. By Andrea.

BIBBIENA. *SAN LORENZO.* (A Franciscan Church.)

Two beautiful reliefs. (i.) Under the “Deposition” (left wall) is the Reception of the Stigmata

in the centre of the *predella*, but the space is too cramped to allow proper dignity for the figures. (ii.) Under the "Nativity" (right wall) is a small half-length figure of St. Francis, to the left of the *predella*, resembling that of the "Sub tuum praesidium" at La Verna (q.v.). Probably by Giovanni.

BORGO SAN SEPOLCRO. STA. CHIARA.

In the *predella* of the "Nativity" are figures of SS. Francis and Clare. Probably by Giovanni.

FLORENCE. STA. CROCE. Cappella Medici.

"Madonna and Saints." To extreme left, St. Antony, with flame and book; to extreme right, St. Francis, with Cross and stigmata. The heads in the background next to St. Antony and St. Francis respectively are probably St. Clare and St. Bonaventura (with a mitre), but there are no emblems by which to determine them. By Andrea.

[The busts of SS. Francis and Bonaventura in the same chapel are only school pieces.]

FLORENCE. OSPEDALE DI SAN PAOLO. (Opposite Sta. Maria Novella.)

(i.) Lunette over side-door. Meeting of SS. Francis and Dominic (cf. p. 129). By Andrea.

(ii.) Medallions above Loggia. SS. Francis, Louis the Bishop, Antony, Bernardino, Bonaventura, Elizabeth, and Clare.

The three central figures probably by Giovanni, the others by Andrea.

Gaudy colouring, and unpleasing effect of attempted flesh-tints.

LA Verna (Franciscan works only.)
(See note on p. 212.)

(i.) *Chiesa Maggiore.* (First chapel on entering, right wall.) "Sub tuum praesidium." Madonna and Child with saints. St. Francis to the right, holding Cross and book. His face is stern, almost vindictive. By Giovanni.

(ii.) *Chiesa degli Angeli.* "Madonna della Cintola." By Andrea.

Miss Cruttwell calls this one of his "most perfect compositions, in spite of overcrowding." St. Francis kneels (to the right) opposite St. Thomas, with upturned face. The figure of Bonaventura is also fine. The other bishop is St. Louis of Toulouse (cf. p. 181).

(iii.) *Cappella delle Stimmate.*¹ A "Crucifixion." By Andrea, though some disfiguring touches, that spoil an otherwise magnificent work, were added by Giovanni.

¹ A small sixteenth-century marble relief of St. Francis receiving the stigmata is let into the floor here on the very spot where the miracle took place.

St. Francis kneels to the left, in earnest adoration, with hands outspread and upturned face.

(iv.) To the left of the High Altar in the *Chiesa Maggiore* is a statue of St. Francis somewhat resembling that at the Portiuncula, but considered by Miss Cruttwell a school piece.

PERUGIA.¹ MUSEUM. Room X., No. 408.

A beautiful little statuette of St. Francis, possibly a study for that at the Portiuncula.

POPPI. CONVENTO DELLE AGOSTINIANE.

A "Nativity," with SS. Francis and Antony kneeling by the manger. This is only a school piece, but the attitudes and grouping are distinctly good. The faces and hands are unglazed and uncoloured.

PRATO.² ORATORY OF STA. MARIA DI BUONCONSIGLIO.

Lunette over the entrance. St. Louis the Bishop, with *fleurs-de-lys* on his robe. By Giovanni.

SIENA (just outside city). Franciscan Convent CHURCH
OF THE OSSERVANZA.

A lovely "Coronation of the Blessed Virgin."
By Andrea.

¹ Not mentioned by Miss Cruttwell.

² This I have not seen.

To the left, St. Antony, with flame and book ; to the extreme right, St. Francis, holding a Cross, and laying one hand on the head of the kneeling St. Clare,¹ who with clasped hands gazes upwards. The figures are full of grace and feeling.

VOLTERRA.² SAN GIROLAMO.

St. Francis, surrounded by the Franciscan Virtues, instituting the Order. A school piece.

There is a fine bust of St. Francis, in the style of the Della Robbia, at *Ferrara* (Pinacoteca, Room I. Brought from the Church of Sant' Andrea), and in the Museum at *Arezzo* there is a small panel, in coloured terra-cotta, of the reception of the stigmata, with an elaborate background. Miss Cruttwell does not mention either of these, so I conclude that they are not genuine Della Robbia work.

¹ Sometimes described as St. Catherine of Siena ; but, I think, incorrectly. I state this here, as I had myself called it St. Catherine in my article on "The Franciscan Legends in Italian Art" in the *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1904.

² This I have not seen (cf. Thode, p. 538).

APPENDIX

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR THE TRAVELLER

MOST of the places mentioned in this little book are quite well-known and accessible, but a few directions as to visiting some of the more remote may be found helpful.

PESCIA

Pescia is a station on the line between Pistoia and Lucca, and the majority of trains stop at it. The town can be visited in an hour or two between trains. It is a picturesque, thriving place, in the rich and beautiful Val di Nievole. The little Albergo *Commercio* will provide quite a good (Italian) lunch. The Church of San Francesco is on the opposite bank of the river. A house in the Via Cairoli has a tablet inscribed :—

Antica Casa Orlandi
qui per tre giorni nel 1211 fu ospitato San Francesco d'Assisi.

MONTEFALCO

A visit to Montefalco makes a delightful day's excursion from Assisi; both its pictures and its splendid hill-top situation make it well worth while. The train may be taken to and from Foligno, and a carriage thence to Montefalco, but it costs little more to drive the whole way (ten miles), and is far pleasanter. The drive should be taken through Bevagna (scene of the Sermon to the Birds),

returning by Foligno, or *vice versa*. It is well to arrange with the driver to go straight to San Fortunato, outside the walls. Provisions should be taken.

LA Verna

La Verna may be reached in several ways; the easiest is from Bibbiena in the Casentino, about one and a half hours from Arezzo by rail. The Albergo *Amorasi* at Bibbiena is clean and comfortable, far better than its very unpretending exterior might lead one to suppose. The visit to La Verna can easily be made in the day; carriages or donkeys for the ascent can be had from the inn (bargaining advisable). The distance is rather over seven miles, and the road extremely rough and steep; it ends at an old Hostel about a quarter of an hour's walk below the convent. Ladies can sleep here, but it does not look very attractive. Gentlemen visitors can sleep in the convent itself, and both can obtain lunch there; the *Frati* are most friendly and hospitable. A walk of about forty minutes from the convent leads through fine woods to the top of the mountain (La Penna), which has a magnificent view. The grottos and chapels adjoining the convent are distinctly chilly in early spring.

The R. Padre Saturnino, the courteous and learned *Guardiano* of the convent, has written a *Guide to La Verna* (see Bibliography).

SUBIACO

Subiaco can be visited in the day from Rome by making an early start. The trains take the best part of three hours each way, but the scenery is so fine that it does not seem tedious. Mandela is the junction for Subiaco (change). It is a short two miles from Subiaco station to the spot

where the path diverges from the road and ascends the hillside on which the monasteries stand. Sta. Scolastica, the lower of the two, is closed between twelve and three. From the road to the Sacro Speco is about twenty-five minutes' ascent on a good, well-graded path ; there is no shade until, just below Lo Speco, the famous ilex-grove is reached. Donkeys can be obtained in Subiaco if desired. There are two indifferent inns in the town—*L'Ariente* and *La Pernice* (the former preferable)—where a meal may be had, and where visitors sometimes stay.

GUBBIO, ETC.

The lovely upland valley of the Central Apennines, in which Gubbio, Borgo San Sepolcro, and Città di Castello are situated should certainly be visited. The Albergo *San Marco* at Gubbio is primitive ; the *Cannomiera* at Città di Castello simple, but quite clean and comfortable. Borgo San Sepolcro can be seen between trains. The Casentino, *via Arezzo*, fits in very conveniently with this. May is the earliest month for it.

I should like to enter a protest here against the plan, too frequently pursued, of trying to "do" Assisi in one day from Perugia. It is impossible. Nor is it necessary. The Albergo *Subasio* (and I believe the same is the case with the *Leone*) has been much improved of late years, and, though not luxurious, is perfectly comfortable. One of the new rooms at the back, with a balcony, on the top floor, should be asked for—they have a superb view over the valley ; those on the front are noisy.

At Spoleto, the Albergo *Lucini* can be safely recommended ; at Foligno, I have heard that the *Pasta* is good.

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Note.—M. Arnold Goffin's admirable brochure “La légende franciscaine dans l'art primitif italien” (reprinted from *La Revue Générale*, Brussels, 1905) appeared too late for me to avail myself of it; the author recognizes the uncertainties attending the early so-called portraits of St. Francis.

TABLE OF PAINTERS

The following table includes most of the painters mentioned in this book, chosen for their connection with Franciscan pictures. Needless to say, it does not aim at being in any way a complete list of Italian painters. The dates given must in many cases be merely approximate. *f.* (*forse*) denotes a painter's working period.

Painter's Name.	Date.	School.	Perit. of.	Influenced by.
Giunta Pisano : Margaritone d'Arezzo : Bonaventura Berlinghieri : Pietro Cavallini : Duccio di Buoninsegna. Giovanni Cimabue : Jacopo d'Avanzo : Altichieri da Zevio : Giotto di Bondone : Simone Martini : Lippo Memmi :	<i>f.</i> 1202–1258 (?) 1216–(?) 1298 Painting in 1235 " " 1293 and 1308 <i>f.</i> 1278–1339 1240–(?) 1302 14th cent. Ditto 1266–1336 <i>f.</i> 1285–1344 — (?) 1357	Tuscan (Pisa) " (Arezzo) " (Lucca) Roman Tuscan (Siena) " (Florence) Bolognese Veronese Tuscan (Florence) (?) Cimabue " (Siena) " (Siena)	— — — — — — — — — — — —	The Byzantines Ditto Ditto The mosaicists The Byzantines Ditto Influenced to some extent by Giotto The Pisani (sculpture) and the Roman school Giotto (slightly) Simone Martini

APPENDIX

PANTHER'S NAME.	DATES.	SCHOOL.	PURPLE OR INFLUENCED BY
Taddeo Gaddi .	1300-1366	Tuscan (Florence)	Giotto
Puccio Capanna .	f. 1310-1349	{ Florence	Ditto
Jacopo del Casentino .	f. 1350	{ Arezzo	Taddeo Gaddi
Giotto ¹ (Giotto di Stefano) .	Painting in 1368	" (Florence)	Giotto
Maestro Stefano .	{ f. circ. 1305-1348	" (Siena)	Giovanni Pisano
Ambrogio Lorenzetti }	f. 1310-1368	" (Florence)	Simone Martini
Pietro Lorenzetti .	(?) 1333-1410	" (Arezzo)	Giotto
Orcagna (Andrea Cioni) .	"	Jacopo del Casen-	Giotto
Spinello Aretino .	"	tino	"
Taddeo di Bartolo .	1362-1422	" (Siena)	Bartolo di Fredi
Fra Giovanni (Angelico) .	1387-1455	" (Florence)	Lorenzo Monaco
Sassetta (Stefano di Giovanni) .	1392-1450	" (Siena)	Massaccio
Sano di Pietro .	1406-1481	" (Siena)	"
Lorenzo Vecchietta .	cir. 1412-1480	" (Siena)	"
Fra Filippo Lippi .	1406-1463	" (Florence)	Lorenzo Monaco
Benozzo Gozzoli .	1420-1498	" (Florence)	Fra Angelico
Niccolò Alunno (da Foligno) .	cir. 1430-1502	Umbrian	Benozzo Gozzoli

¹ The nickname Giotto has been claimed for two or three painters, whose lives and works Vasari confused to make his Giotto. Cf. C. and C., vol. ii, p. 190 (*note*) and p. 196.

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Benedetto Bonfigli .	<i>circ.</i> 1425-1496	Umbrian		Fra Angelico and Benozzo Gozzoli
Piero dei Franceschi .	1416-1492	Umbro-Florentine	Domenico Veneziano	
<i>fl.</i> 1461-1503	Venetian	Bartolommeo		Paolo Uccello
Alvise Vivarini .		Vivarini	Vivarini	—
Carlo Crivelli .	(?) 1430-(?) 1493	"	Squarcione	
Andrea Mantegna .	1431-1506	Paduan	Jacopo Bellini	
Giovanni Bellini .	1428-1516	Venetian	(?) Benozzo Gozzoli	
Fiorenzo di Lorenzo .	1440-1521	Umbrian	Piero dei Franceschi	The Pollaiuoli
Luca Signorelli (da Cortona)	1441-1523	Umbro-Florentine	Alessio Baldovinetti	—
Domenico Ghirlandaio	1449-1494	Tuscan (Florence)		
Sandro Filipepi (Botticelli)	1446-1510	" (Florence)	Lippo Lippi	The Pollaiuoli
Pietro Vannucci (il Perugino)	1446-1524	Umbrian	Fiorenzo di Lorenzo	Signorelli and (slightly) Verocchio
Domenico Morone } .	1442-1500	{ Veronese		
Francesco Morone } .	1474-1529			—
Francesco Raibolini (Francia)	1450-1518	Bolognese	Lorenzo Costa	Ferrarese school
Bernardino Betti (il Pintoricchio) .	1454-1513	Umbrian	Fiorenzo di Lorenzo	Signorelli and Perugino

APPENDIX

Painter's Name.	Dates.	School.	Pupil of.	Influenced by
Filippino Lippi . [Leonardo da Vinci] .	1457-1504 1452-1519	Tuscan (Florence) " (Florence)	Sandro Botticelli Verocchio	—
Giorgio Barbarelli (Giorgione) .	1477-1511 1477-1576	Venetian "	Giovanni Bellini Ditto	Carpaccio Giorgione
Tiziano Vecelli . Giovannantonio Bazzi (Sodoma) .	1477-1549	Lombard	Leonardo da Vinci	—
[Michelangelo] Buonarroti . .	1474-1564	Tuscan (Florence)	Domenico Ghirlandaio	Signorelli
Raffaello Sanzio (da Urbino). .	1483-1520	Umbrian	Timoteo Viti and Perugino	Fra Bartolommeo and Michelangelo
Benvenuto Tisi da Garofalo . .	1481-1559	Ferrarese	—	Raphael

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Andrea d'Agnolo (del Sarto)	1486–1531	Tuscan (Florence)	Piero di Cosimo	Fra Bartolommeo and Michelangelo
Antonio Allegri da Correggio	1494–1534	Parmese	—	—
Enea Vico di San Giorgio	fl. 1492–1527	Umbrian	—	—
Tiberio d'Assisi	Painting in 1507	"	—	—
Giannicola Manni	fl. 1493–1544	"	—	—
Lo Spagna	fl. 1500–1528	"	—	—
Moretto da Brescia (Bonvicini)	1498–1555	Brescian	(?) Bonifazio	Titian and Michelangelo
Jacopo Robusti (il Tintoretto)	1518–1592	Venetian	—	Giorgione
Bonifazio (Veronese)	fl. 1510–1540	Veronese	Palma Vecchio	—
Paolo Caliari (Veronese)	1528–1588	"	(Eclectic)	—
Ludovico Carracci	1555–1619	Bolognese	Ditto	—
Domenichino (Zampieri)	1581–1641	"	Ditto	—
Guercino (Barbieri)	1591–1666	"	Ditto	—

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